

**UNDERSTANDING HOW PREVENTION INITIATIVES CAN WORK WITH/IN
BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES: AN INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN STUDENT BINGE DRINKING
PREVENTION INITIATIVE**

A Thesis Submitted to the College of
Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Masters of Arts
in the Department of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By

DANIELLE ROBERTSON-BOERSMA

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Abstract

In the past four decades, binge drinking has become a prevalent and concerning issue on North American university campuses. Incidents of binge drinking have led to unwanted and tragic consequences, including student deaths. To counteract this, a group of students at the University of Saskatchewan (U of S) worked alongside two faculty members to establish the U of S Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative (BDPI). The initiative was developed based on the latest student relevant empirical evidence. Coinciding with BDPI's establishment was a shift toward a corporate style of administration at Canadian universities, including the U of S, commonly referred to as the Corporate University. This operation style moves away from the traditional mission of the university as an institution of liberal arts academics to a focus on corporate goals such as fundraising, securing industry support, and business management style operations. This form of operation has been criticized for diminishing administrative attention and resources for initiatives focused on bettering the overall university experience of the campus community.

During the BDPI's first year of operation it was met with general support within the campus community, from individual faculty and staff, and small groups of students. However, this was not the case with U of S administration. The BDPI members were faced with unexpected road blocks emanating from the university's administrative structure, prompting the question of "why?". To understand the BDPI's first year of operations within the corporate university structure, I apply Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography and a combination of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell's New Institutionalism to address the question of "how did

the University of Saskatchewan Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative work with/in the bureaucratic structures of the University of Saskatchewan to gain support from administration for the prevention of binge drinking among the student body?” This thesis fulfills three objectives, which are to: 1. identify how BDPI integrated itself in the U of S in its founding year; 2. map the administrative structures that exist at the university level; and 3. identify the tools needed to work through post-secondary institutional structures. The thesis concludes with identifying the themes from the data and offering recommendations to the university on how to incorporate a student voice into its policy and procedure discussions as it shifts towards a more corporatized operation.

Acknowledgements

There are several people who supported me in the successful completion of my master's thesis. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Colleen Anne Dell. I am grateful for your supportive words and actions as you helped me maneuver my way through my graduate degree to create a final product that I am very proud of. I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Peter Butt and Dr. Darrell McLaughlin, external examiner, Dr. Tim Claypool, and committee chair, Dr. Hongming Cheng. I am appreciative for the discussions had during my thesis defence, which push me to continue questioning my surroundings and my perceptions toward them. I would like to thank the Sociology office staff. It was your behind the scenes guidance that kept me going in the right direction.

Thank you to my colleagues, and friends, Nikki Desjardins and Lisa Pattison for reading and editing my thesis, finding the mistakes my eyes no longer could. I would like to acknowledge the financial support I received during my studies, which include the University of Saskatchewan Addictions Studies Graduate Scholarship and the Graduate Teaching Fellowship. This funding gave me the support to focus on my studies and not worry about my economic situation.

In closing, I want to identify past BDPI member, Heather Davis, whose life was tragically cut short in the summer of 2016. Heather was a colleague and mentor during her time with the initiative and I'll forever be grateful for the short time I knew her.

This thesis is dedicated to Susan, Alex, and Peter.
Thank you for all your love, support, and encouragement that got me here.

Table of Contents

Permission to Use	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
List of Abbreviations.....	x
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Rationale and Goal of Thesis	8
<i>1.1.1 Research Question</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>1.1.2 Objectives.....</i>	<i>10</i>
1.2 Format of This Thesis.....	10
1.3 Reflection of My Role with BDPI and in Writing This Thesis.....	13
Chapter Two: Literature Review	16
2.1 Canadian and American Legal Drinking Ages	17
2.2 Defining Binge Drinking.....	18
2.3 Drinking in High School	19
2.4 Alcohol Use in North American Universities.....	20
<i>2.4.1 History.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>2.4.2 Present Day.....</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>2.4.3 Working Towards Change: The University of Saskatchewan Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative.....</i>	<i>26</i>
2.5 Canadian Higher Education: The Rise of the Corporate University	31
<i>2.5.1 Early Signs of Corporatization</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>2.5.2 Administrative Structure and Decision Making</i>	<i>36</i>
2.6 The Corporate University and Alcohol.....	39
2.7 Conclusion – Bringing Concerns to the Corporate University	40
Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework	42
3.1 Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice	42
<i>3.1.1 Habitus</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>3.1.2 Field</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>3.1.3 Capital.....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>3.1.4 Summary</i>	<i>48</i>
3.2 New Institutionalism.....	49
3.3 Integrating Theory of Practice and New Institutionalism	54
3.4 Conclusion.....	56
Chapter Four: Methodology	57
4.1 Research Question	57
4.2 Institutional Ethnography	59

4.2.1 What is Institutional Ethnography?	59
4.2.2 Institutional Ethnography and the Workplace	62
4.2.3 Institutional Ethnography and the University of Saskatchewan	64
4.3 Emails & Personal Recording: Selection & Ethics	66
4.3.1 Ethics.....	66
4.3.2 Overview of the Data	67
4.3.3 Data Criteria.....	71
4.4 Limitations of Methodology	72
4.5 Conclusion	73
Chapter Five: Data Analysis & Discussion	75
5.1 Identifying the Field	76
5.2 Email Themes.....	77
5.2.1 Theme One: Initiative Endorsed by Primary Contact.....	80
5.2.2 Theme Two: Initiative Endorsed by Secondary Positions Identified by Primary Contact.....	81
5.2.3 Theme Three: Initiative Endorsement took Time	84
5.2.4 Theme 4: Initiative Endorsed through Administrative Process	85
5.2.5 Theme 5: Initiative not Endorsed.....	87
5.2.6 Email Theme Overview	88
5.3 Key Informant Interview Themes.....	89
5.4 Objective 1: Implementation Success? Year One of the BDPI	92
5.4.1 Research.....	94
5.4.2 Proposal.....	95
5.4.3 Supervisor and Advisory Support	95
5.4.4 Multi-pronged Approach.....	97
5.4.5 Membership Passion.....	97
5.4.6 Understanding Failure and Working Through It.....	99
5.5 Objective 2: Unknown Pathways - Filling in the Hierarchical Gaps	102
5.6 Objective 3: Having the Proper Tools.....	106
5.7 Summary of Findings	108
5.8 Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 6: Conclusion	113
6.1 Strengths & Limitations	114
6.2 Future Directions	116
6.3 Recommendations	117
Reference List	120

List of Tables

Table 4.1: Institutional Ethnography Assumptions and their Relation to BDPL...	63
Table 4.2: List and Descriptors of Data	68
Table 5.1: Identified Themes and Descriptions.....	79
Table 5.2: Key Informant Interview Themes.....	89

List of Figures

Figure 1: 2011-2012 University Structure.....	78
Figure 2: BDPI Key Elements for Success.....	93
Figure 3: Identifying the Unknown Pathways of the University of Saskatchewan....	105

List of Abbreviations

Administrative Assistant	AA
Associate Vice Dean	AVD
Associate Vice President	AVP
Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse	CCSA
Executive Director	ED
Institutional Ethnography	IE
Student Employment and Career Centre	SECC
University of Saskatchewan	U of S
University of Saskatchewan Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative	BDPI
Vice Dean	VD
What's Your Cap? Campaign	WYC

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis focuses on the integration of binge drinking prevention initiatives into the bureaucratic structures of universities, specifically the University of Saskatchewan Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative (BDPI) on to the University of Saskatchewan (U of S) campus. This opening chapter gives an overview of the topic and the general prevalence of alcohol use by students on North American university campuses. The chapter concludes by giving an overview of the thesis structure and what the upcoming chapters will cover.

Alcohol use is prevalent on North American university campuses, with the majority of students consuming it at least once within the past year. The 2013 American Monitoring the Future survey identifies that 78% of college students have tried alcohol (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, Schulenberg, & Miech, 2014). Some students may partake in heavy drinking, which is defined "...as drinking 5 or more drinks on the same occasion on each of 5 or more days in the past 30 days" (American Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA] 2013). The 2013 American Monitoring the Future survey found that 35% of young adults and college students have partaken in heavy drinking (Johnston et al., 2014). This statistic shows that one-third of American college students are participating at dangerous levels of alcohol consumption while in school. While this behaviour is occurring on American university campuses, there are also high levels of alcohol use on Canadian campuses. The 2004 Canadian Campus Survey found that 85.7% of university students had consumed alcohol in the past year, with 77.1% consuming alcohol in the past month (Adlaf, Demers & Gliksman, 2005). Of the students surveyed in the 2004 Canadian Campus Survey, "...one-third reported a heavy drinking

pattern; 16.1% reporting heavy-frequent drinking and 11.7% reporting heavy-infrequent drinking” (Adlaf, Demers & Gliksman, 2005, p. ii).

Heavy, infrequent drinking is a term that can be interchangeably used with binge drinking, which loosely “...refers to occasions during which a person consumes an excessive and potentially harmful amount of alcohol” (Bonar, Young, Hoffmann, Gumber, Cummings, Pavlick, et al., 2012, p. 187). American national surveys conducted between 1999 and 2007 identified that university students (18 to 24 years of age) drinking within binge drinking parameters in the past 30 days had decreased from 47.7% to 43.8% (Hingson & White, 2012). The surveys identified a slight reduction in binge drinking behaviours but a significant proportion of students continue to participate in the behaviours. A reason for continued binge drinking behaviours can be due to the campus supporting a social environment where students focus on creating personal relationships in order to get through the academic component of school (Adlaf, Demers, & Gliksman, 2004). The majority of university students will consume alcohol in environments that range from small gatherings of friends to large university-sanctioned or non-sanctioned events. These social settings have been identified by other students, faculty, and staff as beneficial for students to support them during difficult times in school, but there is also a dangerous component to them when students use alcohol excessively as a social lubricant. This can leave students susceptible to the social, physical, mental, and economic consequences associated with excessive drinking (Kuntsche, Knibbe, Gmel, & Engels, 2005; Lyvers, Duff, Basch, & Edwards, 2012; Macdonald, Cherpitel, DeSouza, Stockwell, Borges & Giesbrecht, 2006; Winter, 2011). In recent years, reports of deaths related to binge drinking behaviour have increased on Canadian campuses (Queen’s, St. Thomas and Acadia Universities), pressuring the impacted universities towards a reactive mode of combating students’ excessive alcohol consumption (Ferguson, 2011).

At the same time as institutions react to the consequences of excessive student drinking, individuals at other university campuses have approached the problem through a proactive response. In the winter term of 2011, a U of S Sociology/Public Health Studies in Addictions class prompted the U of S to focus on the issue due to a core group of students who created an initiative from a class assignment on binge drinking prevention. Expanding from the assignment, the initiative became known as the U of S Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative or the BDPI. The BDPI's paid members and volunteers proactively addressed student binge drinking by creating an initiative to increase knowledge and awareness about the risks of over consumption. Though preventative measures had previously occurred on campuses, the BDPI introduced a relatively unique approach by delivering academic health research on the consequences of alcohol over-consumption while promoting moderation in a peer-to-peer platform. With peers speaking to peers, it created an opportunity for students to take a step back to reflect on their drinking behaviours.

Many health-based prevention campaigns that focus "...on college drinking have used a basic information approach" (DeJong 2002, p. 189). These initiative types are valuable, but produce limited applicable outcomes for individuals to see and measure, in turn decreasing administrative and public support (DeJong, 2002). Gaining support for prevention initiatives from members of organizations and communities can be difficult, as individuals have certain beliefs and understandings for why students choose to partake in drinking activities, and propose that resources should instead be focused towards other initiatives such as programming and university outreach (Jackson, 1998). MacCoun (2013) further identifies that harm reduction advocates "...argue that pragmatic steps to reduce harmful consequences of a risky behavior will save lives [but] opponents counter that these steps might 'send the wrong message' (p. 84)".

As the BDPI members worked to gain support for the initiative from the university, they began to establish relationships with university administrators. Previously, university administrations were composed of academic individuals who served terms to fulfill university administrative duties. Once their term was complete, the faculty member would return to their academic responsibilities and other individuals would take over the role. University administrative positions have since evolved. There are still individuals who take leave of their academic duties to fulfill administrative responsibilities and then return to their original position, but there are others who shift from their faculty position and into the administrative role, continuing their career path from there. Administrative positions include vice presidents, deans, department heads, and other like positions where the focus is on managing an academic unit with less direct involvement in the academics. University administration looks at the sustainability of the institution and the influential reach it can have on academics and research. This influential focus does not always line up with the needs of the university campus community, which includes the needs of the student body (Giroux, 2009; Stone, 2012).

During the BDPI's first year, members experienced the disconnect in goals between the university community and administration in their attempts to gain support from individual colleges and university administration. Members of the initiative focused on social and health priorities for students, identifying these as important issues that individuals in administration should focus on. Meanwhile, university administrative individuals identified their priorities as legal liabilities and economic sustainability of the institution. Another factor that the BDPI members encountered was the structural changes occurring at the college and university levels with the implementation of Transform Us. At this time, the university was looking at serious financial troubles and allocated to college administrative offices to begin cutting faculty, staff,

and other resources in order to meet specific quotas set out by the Transform Us plan. With this restructuring set in motion, it caused setbacks for the BDPI members to gain support from college and university administration. Looking at the bigger picture, individual (i.e. individual students) and group (i.e. university administrative units) needs were not aligning, causing conflict between the university administration and individuals in the university, with resistance to compromise on both sides.

A lack of coordinated support between individuals in institutions can cause frustration. When individuals in the institutions (i.e. the university) come together on issues (i.e. binge drinking) there is a possibility for positive outcomes. As an example of a successful prevention initiative involving multiple partners, Jackson (1998) identified lead poisoning programs in the US that improved the urban environment. Individuals from the prevention initiative took what was considered an unsolvable issue of lead in the environment from old structures, and introduced the problem to a combined effort of individuals, community groups, and national organizations to solve and prevent further environmental contamination. At the national level, the problem was dealt with by implementing mandates and policy. At the community level, there was a combined effort between community members, health officials, and individuals (e.g. contract workers), who helped rehabilitate housing that was heavily contaminated with lead. Though the organization members focused on different priorities, the overarching goal was children's health, which was greatly affected by the lead-contaminated environment. The outcomes of this community-based project was a significant drop of high lead levels in the children's blood stream from "...almost 90% in the late 1970's to less than 5% in the early 1990s" (Jackson, 1998, p. 259). The positive outcomes were welcomed, but Jackson (1998) identified that "...progress takes time, with successful programs trying to improve an existing

community rather than making it over” (p. 262). Similarly, the BDPI works towards positive health outcomes through long-term goals and making changes at the different levels from individual student behaviour to administrative level decision making.

Along with the need for individuals to have similar goals, prevention initiatives need economic support to operate. When looking for sources of funding, members from different initiatives will often contact similar organizations. These organizations can be, but are not limited to, government offices and private companies that are perceived to have an influence on public opinion and endless economic capital. In reality, due to the multiple demands for limited resources, initiatives find it difficult to acquire long-term funding. In order for an initiative to be sustainable, there is a need for strategic alliances to find and create relationships with targeted funders. As the U of S BDPI worked on campus implementation, the membership simultaneously worked to build relationships and convince university administrators why the initiative is important to each one of them and the individual colleges they represented. To acquire university and individual college endorsement, the BDPI members had to be persistent in requesting meetings with university administrators. As the initiative members began to coordinate such meetings, relationships began to form and endorsement for the initiative was secured. By gaining endorsement, the members of the BDPI began to see the initiative imbed itself into the university. Dependent on which administrative positions were present at the initial meetings introducing the initiative, the BDPI members could receive endorsement at the conclusion of the meeting, or they would need to wait until college procedures were followed in making a decision.

Individual colleges and university administrators began to support the initiative in different ways, from verbal confirmation supporting the goals of the initiative to sharing information

about the initiative within their college. In some instances, endorsement of the initiative was established in the form of monetary funding to support initiative wages. With university administrative support growing for the initiative, the BDPI members began to reflect on the processes that led them to their present state. When the members first set out to gain support, they found it difficult to convince university administration of the importance of an initiative such as the BDPI. As the meetings continued and individual colleges and people began to endorse the initiative, those who had made earlier decisions not to support the initiative began to take a second look. In order to comprehend university administrative decision-making one needs to understand bureaucratic structures.

The university is a type of bureaucratic structure, with rules and regulations set in place to deal with the different issues and scenarios it faces. The concept of the university as a bureaucratic structure is not new. The rules and regulations of the institution cover the entirety of the university from day to day internal operations to large-scale projects involving national and international partners. Due to the university having numerous accountabilities to different groups and individuals, which include community members, provincial and national governments, and international organizations, rules and regulations can be influenced by external forces (Axelrod, Desai-Trilokekar, Shanahan, & Wellen, 2011). These external forces may not always reflect the needs of the individual institution. When it comes to social issues, such as student binge drinking, the system can falter in its approach to addressing the problem. Institutional decision makers may try to implement rules and regulations instead of working with the effected population to support initiatives such as the BDPI.

1.1 Rationale and Goal of Thesis

The goal of this thesis is to provide an understanding of post-secondary institutional structures, and the obstacles individuals working in prevention initiatives face when trying to create change in the organization. Drawing on data, which includes emails, key informant interviews, and text documents collected from the first year of the BDPI's operation, I identify the strengths and limitations that helped to implement the initiative, and could be of value to others working to foster social change. Secondary to the goals of my thesis, the rationale for researching and writing about the U of S BDPI is to reflect on my role as a founding member and coordinator. During my years with the BDPI, I became curious as to why students over-consumed alcohol and how both myself and the other members could work to help students understand their personal motivations and behaviours that lead to over-consumption. Likewise, I was interested in the decision making process of individuals working in administrative positions around the issue of health risks, and why contradicting decisions can go against factual evidence. It did not make sense to me as to why some administrative individuals would reject a binge drinking prevention initiative looking to reduce physical, social, health, and economic harms for the students. With these questions in mind, and with sociological theories and methodologies as a means of investigation, I have come to two understandings. At an individual level, I have come to better understand why decisions are made. At a societal level, and for future initiatives, I have learnt how to approach bureaucratic institutions with a better understanding of the administrative decision-making process.

1.1.1 Research Question

As an original member of the BDPI that worked on gaining initiative endorsement from individual colleges and the university as a whole, I wondered why it was challenging at times to

receive administration's support and not others. When the BDPI members began to work towards receiving endorsement and support, some administrators would outright provide support for the initiative during, or at the end of the meeting, while others were skeptical of the initiative and its goals, needing time to process or discuss with college committees. When administrative individuals agreed to verbally endorse the initiative, it was unclear to the BDPI members why they would not do more to support the initiative. The BDPI members pushed for more long-term forms of support, such as funding or allowing the BDPI members to come in and share their information with the student body in the college. Around December 2011, seven months after the BDPI was initiated, the stance of the university administration on endorsing the BDPI began to shift. Members began to see more forms of support come in, including verbal agreement to share the BDPI knowledge and provide financial support for a paid position in the initiative. This change in support led to the development of my research question, which is: **How did the University of Saskatchewan Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative work with/in the bureaucratic structures of the University of Saskatchewan to gain support from administration for the prevention of binge drinking in the student body?**

In order to address my research question, I use a combination of two theories. The first is Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, which includes the habitus, field, and symbolic capital. The second theory comes from Organizational Theory, specifically the concept of 'New Institutionalism' from DiMaggio and Powell. I employ Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (IE) as a project of inquiry to understand the process of how administrators made the decision to support the BDPI and the influences on university administrative decision-making. To analyze the data, I use a thematic analysis to understand individual decision-making and the experiences had by the BDPI members within the larger relations of power. By

answering the research question, I identify how initiatives, like the BDPI, are able to successfully gain support from administrative leadership in the university.

1.1.2 Objectives

Along with my research question, I address three objectives in my thesis, which include:

1. Identifying how successful the BDPI was at integrating onto the U of S campus in its founding year. This objective permits the identification of initiative's positive outcomes and shortcomings during the first year, and how both helped the BDPI to implement itself on to the campus;
2. Mapping the administrative structures that exist at the university. Most organizations have a loose structural map on their websites identifying the institutional hierarchy. Though a useful starting point, these websites can be misleading and do not always show the realistic connections and power structures located in the organization; and,
3. Identifying the tools needed to help initiatives struggling to gain administrative support in post-secondary institutions. When the BDPI was initiated, the coordinators were unaware of what was needed to approach administrators for endorsement and support. Through the use of the combined theory approaches and Institutional Ethnography, I identify how these concepts can help to understand decision-making within the organization.

1.2 Format of This Thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter two is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on introducing the prevalence of alcohol on North American university campuses. The chapter focuses on Canadian and American legal drinking ages, outlining the history of alcohol

in universities, and how it is imbedded in student culture. Section one of chapter two ends by introducing the background of the U of S BDPI. The second section of chapter two begins with an overview of the history of the Canadian university. The chapter moves to understanding how Canadian post-secondary institutions gradually shifted toward more corporate models of operation, with the members of institutions internally disputing the overall mission of the university as an institution of teaching, research, or both.

Chapter three introduces the conceptual framework of this thesis with a combination of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism found in Organizational Theory. The two theories work to provide an understanding of the university structure and the internal decision making process. The Theory of Practice involves three theoretical tools: the habitus; the field; and symbolic capital. These tools are applied to understand individual decision-making done through administrative bodies. Institutional Theory takes in account the organizational structures to give a deeper understanding of how they work, and the influences they have on high-level decision-making.

Chapter four introduces Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (IE) and Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis used to understand the text document data. Smith's IE works to identify relationships that influence and create ruling apparatuses in social organizations. After introducing IE, the next section identifies its fit and application in the workplace. The data are introduced, including the emails between the BDPI members, university administration and key informant interviews done during the first year of the initiative. Following the overview of the data, the chapter continues with a discussion around obtaining ethical approval, and the process of how data was sorted, thematized, and analyzed using Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis methodology. The final section of the chapter recognizes the limitations of using IE as a point of

inquiry.

Chapter five identifies the themes found within the email conversations and key informant interviews. From the conversations, patterns emerge to give an idea of how administrative individuals from individual colleges and schools follow similar, unwritten procedures when responding to the BDPI members, even though each college and the individuals within operate with different rules and policies. The email themes are compared to the key informant interview themes to offer insight into a much larger picture of the administrative understanding of binge drinking within the student population.

The chapter continues on to address the three objectives of the thesis. The first objective discusses the success of the initiative, identifying that during the initiative's first year, members were able to create the foundation for a sustainable, long-term initiative. The next objective maps out the university structure by using a combined concept of the university's original map and the BDPI members understanding of the university hierarchy. A second map is created, acknowledging the gaps identified by the BDPI members working through the organization. The unknown gaps include gatekeepers, such as an administrative assistant or vice-deans, who were to be first contact prior to discussions with higher administrative positions. The new map identifies the missing relationships needed to imbed an initiative into the university structure. The objective also identifies that when these missing gatekeepers were recognized, the administrative stance began to shift, leaning towards supporting the initiative. With the building of relationships, other individual colleges began to see who was supporting and legitimizing the initiative. The final objective looks at the tools needed for the initiative to successfully implement itself on to the U of S campus.

Chapter six concludes the thesis, addressing the strengths and limitations of the BDPI and how the thesis identifies how change can possibly occur within organizations deeply rooted in bureaucratic processes. Chapter six brings together the findings from the previous chapters to identify the key strengths and weaknesses of the thesis. Following the overview, recommendations and future steps are brought forward. The chapter concludes with recommendations for the university in keeping an initiative such as the BDPI sustainable because of the need for the university community to play its role in addressing issues related to occasions involving excessive alcohol consumption by university students.

1.3 Reflection of My Role with BDPI and in Writing This Thesis

It is important to identify my role with the U of S BDPI. In the winter of 2011, I was an undergraduate student in Dr. Colleen Dell's Studies in Addiction's class. Prior to registering for this class, my knowledge of addictions was limited. The class enlightened me to the topic and piqued my interest to understand more about it. I participated in the class assignment to create a prevention campaign, choosing to look at binge drinking within the student population. As I worked with my group on the assignment, I began to find that I knew more than I originally thought. I could identify with many of the consequences that came from binge drinking behaviours, as my friends or myself had first hand experience with them. It was a relatable issue that I gradually became passionate about.

When Dr. Dell identified that the work from our assignment could continue in the form of research positions, I applied. Where my initial limited addictions knowledge was apparent, my research skills compensated and I was successfully hired into one of the four initiative membership positions. From there, I was driven to understand and help reduce binge drinking on the university campus. I spent the next four and a half years researching the behaviour and

working to create, grow, and manage a sustainable initiative on the U of S campus. The BDPI's first year was a crash course in gaining the knowledge I needed to become an expert on the subject of student binge drinking.

The passion I have for the work is both something that helps and hinders the work being done by myself and other members of the initiative. My drive to implement this initiative on campus gave me the motivation to push forward with the work when there were those who thought it was unnecessary. Individuals identified the issue of binge drinking as something not to be concerned with on the U of S campus compared to other universities. I, and the other members, were able to take these comments, and come back to the administrative decision-makers with evidence that our campus had the potential for a tragedy as risky drinking behaviours became more normalized on campus. We were able to support this statement with campus specific data that identified the high rates of drinking, an environment conducive for severe consequences, and the need for a new approach to the issue. By identifying the needs of the students on campus, I had the desire to push through the adversities in the first year and address the need of the university for a prevention initiative.

My ambition also hindered my work with the initiative. It could be said that it blinded me to other issues, as I believed that the work that I and the other BDPI members were doing was the most important issue for the U of S campus. During the more difficult discussions with administrative individuals on campus, we would sometimes come to an impasse because they saw things one-way and I saw them another. I did not take the time to understand and appreciate why they had their specific standpoint. This caused breakdowns in discussion and a lack of support for the initiative. When new members were hired to the initiative in future years, they came in with a clear mindset and were able to restart previous conversations. This was positive

for the initiative, as my previous limitations did not help in gaining endorsement from all colleges, schools, and administrative offices on the U of S campus. Of course, I was one of four individuals, so I did not have all the influence on these conversations, but at times I did not help to move the initiative forward. My focus on the initiative was a double-edged sword that I sometimes did not see I was wielding the wrong way.

While writing this thesis, I have worked to keep biases at bay. As I worked through the data, emotions of frustration and resentment returned, and I had to take a step back from the data in order to analyze them clearly. This thesis is not only an academic work that highlights the strengths and limitations of the U of S BDPI, but it is also a chance I had to reflect on my first year of work with the initiative, to see where the roadblocks, and also the positive accomplishments that led the initiative to grow into the present *What's Your Cap: Know When to Put a Lid on Drinking* campaign. The present campaign has been able to publish academic articles, create and share a How-To guide for other post-secondary institutions, implement a logic model that can adjust its goals each year to fit the research done through the pre- and post-surveys completed each term, and give the coordinators a chance to apply their own ideas about how to prevent and lower binge drinking numbers on campus. As I wrote this thesis, and read the data that had previous negative emotions attached to it, I kept in mind that the initiative still prospers, and that previous and present BDPI members have worked through these issues, creating new relationships and successfully acquiring missing endorsements from the first year.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

For as long as universities have been in existence, institutions have seen changes in their administrative structures. Originally, universities were small enterprises where faculty members took on administrative responsibilities to keep the institution running. The modern university has become a larger enterprise, with multitudes of administrative units and offices managing different branches of the institution other than the academic component. Outside corporate structures have influenced and altered the interest of the university, moving it away from the concern of the individual, to the bigger picture of university operations (Buchbinder & Newson, 1990; Giroux 2009; Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012; Stone, 2012). In the past 5 decades, the majority of university administrations have gone from the “in loco parentis, [which is] the legal responsibility of an organization or a person to assume functions of parents” (Neighbors, Foster, Fossos, & Lewis in Correia, Murphy, & Barnett 2012, p. 81) to a higher level of control through the use of policies and procedures enforced by individuals within administrative positions. With this shift in administration, there is the unintended relationship breakdown between the student body and the university administrators on issues such as binge drinking.

The culture of drinking by university student populations is no new phenomenon, with alcohol historically found on university campuses (Borden, Martens, McBride, Sheline, Bloch, & Dude, 2011; Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986; Vicary & Karshin, 2002). Students have identified multitude of reasons for drinking, including to socialize, to celebrate, and to alleviate stress (Townshend, 2013, p. 36; American College Health Association [ACHA], 2013). However, recent student perceptions of peer behaviours toward alcohol have created an upward shift in consumption practices (Schulenberg & Patrick in White & Rabiner, 2012). With alcohol encompassing the life of most university students, it can be found at ceremonial events, social

gatherings, and through rites of passage (Tamburri, 2012; Vicary & Karshin, 2002). For both the administrative and student body, to find a middle ground has become a trying experience, with the focus for the well-being of the student often losing out to the concern of liability.

This chapter focuses on the topic of my research question for this thesis, which is to understand the prevention of alcohol over consumption by university students with current university governing structures. To have an understanding of the importance for prevention campaigns, I will first focus on a brief history of drinking on North American campuses. The focus will then shift from historical to present day life on university campuses. Finally an overview of the U of S BDPI will identify why the campaign was necessary to be implemented on the U of S campus. The second part of this chapter outlines the governance structures of North American universities. I identify the university structural shift that has been occurring since the early 1980's towards a more corporate-style operation, recognizing the change in funding and administrative roles. To conclude this chapter, I will bring together the overview of alcohol's presence on campus and the move towards a corporatized university. As universities corporatized, there was a shift in what their primary focus is, with the institutions looking more towards research and the research funds being brought in, and less at other issues, which can include acknowledging and dealing with the social and health matters of students, faculty, and staff.

2.1 Canadian and American Legal Drinking Ages

This thesis looks at literature around alcohol use in North America and not specifically Canadian literature. This is due to the fact that there is limited Canadian literature on the over-consumption of alcohol, whereas in the United States there is significant related research. In order to use a combination of Canadian and American literature to address alcohol use, there are

a few key differences that need to be identified. The first issue is the difference in the legal drinking age. In Canada, the legal drinking age ranges between 18 and 19 years of age, dependent on the province. For Canada, the legal drinking age in Alberta, Manitoba, and Québec is set at 18 years with the rest of the country at 19 (Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse, 2014). In the United States the legal drinking age is implemented nationally and is set at 21 years of age. There, debates have occurred around lowering the drinking age closer to Canadian standards (Carpenter & Dobkin, 2011), but as of yet, nothing has been implemented from these conversations. Between the two countries, the culture of alcohol may seem similar, but due to the legal age differences, there are considerable variances in university policies. As long as policies are not compared between American and Canadian universities, it is still possible to compare drinking cultures between the two countries.

2.2 Defining Binge Drinking

It is not unusual for students to consume alcohol during their time at university. Canadian and American studies have identified that anywhere between 80 to 90% of university students had consumed alcohol in the past year (Hingson & White in Correia, Murphy, & Barnett, 2012; Tamburri, 2012). These studies have found that the number of students participating in risky drinking has risen steadily, becoming a point of concern. Many university students would admit that a goal they have when they go out is to become annihilated, wasted, destroyed, hammered, blitzed, or crunked (Urban Dictionary, 2014). This form of behaviour, where copious amounts of alcohol are consumed in a short period of time, has been termed binge drinking. Though there has been debate around the definition of binge drinking (Oei & Morawska, 2004), it is most commonly defined as 4 or more alcoholic beverages for women and 5 or more alcoholic beverages for men within a single occasion (Borsari, Murphy & Barnett, 2007; Clark, Tran,

Weiss, Caselli, Nikcevic, & Spada, 2012; Parada, Corral, Caamaño-Isorna, Mota, Crego, Holguín, & Cadaveira, 2011). For the purpose of this thesis, this is the definition that has been adopted.

2.3 Drinking in High School

It should be noted that the majority of drinking experimentation and the habits that are formed by individuals occur during high school. In some cases, an individual's first experimentation with alcohol can occur earlier in elementary or junior high. In 2011, the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse (CCSA) in partnership with the Student Drug Use Surveys (SDUS) Working Group published a technical report looking at student alcohol and drug use. The report had "...representatives from the nine regularly occurring student drug use surveys" (Young & Student Drug Use Surveys (SDUS) Working Group, 2011, p. 2), which included surveys from the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Québec, and the Maritimes. Nationally, estimates were used from the Health Canada Controlled Substances and Tobacco Directorate. Due to Saskatchewan not having a regularly occurring, province-wide student survey on drug use, there is no representation from the province. With the other Prairie Provinces being represented (Alberta and Manitoba), it can be safe to speculate their numbers to roughly reflect what is occurring in Saskatchewan.

Within the key findings of the report, they found that those who were between 12 and 18 years of age¹ reported 46-62% alcohol use within the past year, dependent on the province, with 19-30% reporting to consume five or more drinks on a single occasion within the past month (Young & SDUS Working Group, 2011). These numbers, specifically the second set of percentages, identifies that binge drinking habits are being formed early on in adolescence.

¹ It should be noted that the report identifies the grades that have been surveyed, which included grades 7, 9, 10, and 12, therefore missing grades 8 and 11.

Therefore, when students enter post-secondary education, many have already established risky drinking habits. Though high school drinking is not a focus in this thesis, it is important to be aware of these numbers and of the habits formed prior to entering university.

2.4 Alcohol Use in North American Universities

2.4.1 History

In the past 20 to 30 years, there has been an escalation of binge drinking among university students in North America (ABC Nightline, 1998; Marczinski, Grant & Grant, 2009). Due to the rise in binge drinking, it has become an important health concern for college students (Maisto, Bishop, & Hart in Correia, Murphy & Barnett, 2012). Historically, alcohol has been commonly found in the academic setting. Vicary and Karshin (2002) identified ‘hooligan scholars’ of the European Middle Ages, who partook in consuming alcohol and causing disturbances. Vicary and Karshin (2002) went back even further, looking at the drinking captains of Ancient Greece. In the 1950’s, an American national survey done by Straus and Bacon identified the widespread use of alcohol by college students (cited in Marczinski, Grant & Grant, 2009, p. 7). College drinking has become a culture with beliefs and customs that have been handed down through generations (Task Force of the National Advisory Council on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, National Institutes of Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2002). Individuals and the media have identified binge drinking behaviour as a ‘rite of passage’, using this as a justification for the behaviour, where we as a society believe those taking part in the behaviour will grow out of it. For the most part, individuals do grow out of this behaviour, but there is the risk that individuals may not transcend the trial and suffer from the consequences (Crawford & Novak, 2006).

Though alcohol has been found historically on university campuses, research on the topic and individual behaviours started in the mid to late 1970's (Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986). An example of the early research done on student alcohol consumption highlighted by Perkins and Berkowitz, is the work done by editor George L. Maddox. His 1970 reader *The Domesticated Drug: Drinking among Collegians* looked to be informative for students, but also raised issues with university administrators. The third section of Maddox's reader, title *Implications*, identifies the complex issues that university administration struggled with when trying to enforce unrealistic rules and policies that do not extend outside the parameters of the university boundaries. The 1970 findings of Maddox has become a common modern theme in the research done around student alcohol use and administrative responsibilities.

The American College Alcohol Survey, under taken by Harold Wechsler at Harvard University, has collected data on student alcohol consumption every other year from 1993 to 2001 (excluding 1995) and found a continuous increase of binge drinkers and abstainers, with the moderate drinking population shrinking (Marczinski, Grant & Grant, 2009). Those who identified as 'frequent' binge drinkers rose from 20% to 23% (Task Force of the National Advisory Council on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, National Institutes of Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2002). It was also found that those who identified as 'abstainers' from alcohol rose from 15% to 19% (Task Force of the National Advisory Council on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, National Institutes of Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2002, p. 5). These two changes identified a shift toward two extremes. The National Longitudinal Alcohol Epidemiologic Survey (NLAES) and the National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions (NESARC) were two American surveys conducted 10 years apart that showed an increase in drinks being consumed by 21 to 24 year olds. The

surveys found that individuals who identified drinking 10 or more drinks per occasion went up from 27% in 1991-1992 to 40% in 2001-2002 (Hingson & White in Correia, Murphy & Barnett, 2012, p. 4). A similar jump in consumption numbers was also found for those who identified drinking 21 or more drinks, with an increase from 8% to 15% (Hingson & White in Correia, Murphy & Barnett, 2012, p. 4). Due to the continuous surveying of university students, the United States has been able to identify this upward trend in binge drinking behaviours.

In Canada, the last nationally implemented comprehensive survey that focused on university students was the 2004 Canadian Campus Survey (CCS). The survey found that 85.7% of students had consumed alcohol at least once in the past year, with 77.1% having done so in the past month (Adlaf, Demers, & Gliksman, 2005). 16% of CCS participants identified themselves as ‘heavy-frequent’ drinkers, which is defined as “...the usual consumption of more than 5 drinks on the days they drink and weekly drinking”, while 11.7% reported ‘heavy-infrequent’ drinking, defined as “...the usual consumption of more than 5 drinks on the days they drink and less than weekly drinking” (Adlaf, Demers, & Gliksman, 2005, p. ii). The Canadian Addiction Survey(CAS) identified that in universities, a core number of students were participating in binge drinking behaviours.

In 2008, the Canadian Alcohol and Drug Monitoring Survey (CADUMS) was distributed to Canadians 15 years of age and older to assess alcohol and other drug use. CADUMS 2008 found that 12.7% of youth (15-24 years old) identified themselves as heavy-infrequent drinkers, while 13.5% of survey participants identified themselves as heavy-frequent drinkers (Health Canada, 2008). Compared to the CCS, the CADUMS numbers are lower, but it is difficult to

statistically compare the two surveys due to the difference in age groups and population.² Both American and Canadian surveys however identify and support that past decades have shown a growing trend towards a more risky form of alcohol consumption.

2.4.2 Present Day

As identified in the previous section of this chapter, throughout the decades there has been a steady rise in binge drinking behaviours. A documented reason for the rise in binge drinking is the perception held by individuals around the use of alcohol by their peers (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2013). Students are flooded with images of young, vibrant, and attractive people consuming alcohol and experiencing positive effects from the behaviour (Cin, Worth, Dalton, & Sargent, 2008; Russell & Russell, 2008; Stern, 2006). Along with imaging from advertisements, there are influences from movies, television shows, and interaction with peers, which can have an impact on individual alcohol consumption. Borsari and Carey (2006) identify that there are:

Three aspects of the college environment that enhance the influence of peers on alcohol use: 1. the freedom from parental control; 2. the transition into college life as students establish themselves in a new environment, and; 3. the imbedded culture of alcohol on campuses, being found at social events and during peer interactions. (p. 361)

In order to have a good time, the perception held by many university students is that alcohol needs to be central in most plans. The American Century Council (now recognized as the Foundation for Advancing Alcohol Responsibility) conducted a survey where they identified that two-thirds of the respondents reported binge drinking on a weekly basis (Century Council 2010, slide 28). Less Than U Think, a spin off campaign from The Century Council, found that 62% of participants from the University of Alabama thought alcohol was an important factor in order to

² CADUMS are open to all Canadians above 15 years of age, the CCS was specifically for university students.

have a good time (Less Than U Think, 2010, p. 11). Given students exposure to other students' drinking habits, a perception arose that the alcohol culture is more prevalent than the reality of it (Lewis, Neighbors, Geisner, Lee, Kilmer, & Atkins, 2012). A study done on tailgating prior to American athletic games found that students had high misperceptions of how much their peers were consuming, which in turn lead to heavier drinking at these events (Oster-Aaland & Neighbors, 2007). This kind of environment is an optimal setting for students to test and go beyond their limits with alcohol. Much like American university students, Canadian students also perceive their peers to be drinking more than what is actually being consumed (Arbour-Nicitopoulos, Kwan, Lowe, Taman, & Faulkner, 2010).

As previously identified, the 2004 CCS found that 85.7% of Canadian university students had consumed alcohol in the past year, with 90% of students having used alcohol at some point in their lives (Adlaf, Demers, & Gliksman, 2005). The numbers are not much different in the CAS, where 82.9% of 15-24 year olds reported past-year drinking (Health Canada, 2007). More specifically, the CAS found that rates of drinking were dependent on age, with 18 to 19 year olds at 90.8% and 20 to 24 year olds at 89.5% (Health Canada, 2007). The CCS (2004) identified that 77.1% of university students who participated in the survey had consumed alcohol at least once in the past month. At the U of S, rates of any alcohol use within the past 30 days are slightly higher than identified in the CCS at 76.2% (ACHA, 2013). The U of S National College Health Assessment II (NCHAI) Survey identified that U of S students perceived other students monthly use of alcohol to be at 96.4%, which may explain why the university has a higher monthly use than the CCS, as perceptions of use are higher (ACHA, 2013).

Along with the perceptions of peer drinking habits, it has been suggested that students drink in order to "...create or enhance positive outcomes or avoid negative outcomes" (LaBrie,

Ehret, & Prenovost, 2012). This statement concurs with what the CCS found, identifying that getting together (41%) and parties (28%) were the most common reasons for students to drink (2004). Social settings, such as the ones identified by the CCS, are where students can assume positive outcomes will result from their drinking. Students may also drink to cope with life stressors and responsibilities. University is a time when significant life changes occur for students. There are academic pressures to achieve and uphold top grades in order to maintain scholarships and to be accepted into professional schools, such as medicine, law, or veterinarian medicine. Academic pressures, along with the probability of living on one's own for the first time, can cause high levels of stress, and the need to find a way to cope. For some students, drinking becomes the needed coping mechanism (LaBrie, Ehret, Hummer, & Prenovost, 2012).

As this section identified, alcohol has a constant presence in student life through perceptions and environmental influences, which in turn can impact and enforce binge drinking behaviours. If left unchecked, the current binge drinking levels have the probability of becoming a health crisis for many American and Canadian university campuses. The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) (2013) has identified “harmful and underage college drinking [as] significant public health problems” (p. 1). In response, work has been undertaken in the United States by students and community organizations to create awareness campaigns for students to understand personal and peer drinking habits. In Canada, there has been a push to focus on campus alcohol consumption, but uptake by universities has been slow. At the U of S, a group of undergraduate students identified the lack of work done on their own campus to inform students about binge and risky drinking. With the help of faculty members, university leaders, and an advisory committee with provincial and national membership, undergraduate students

from the U of S were able to create an innovative peer-led, research based prevention campaign on their campus.

2.4.3 Working Towards Change: The University of Saskatchewan Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative

The University of Saskatchewan (U of S) Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative (BDPI) was established in May 2011. The initiative was created from a group assignment in U of S faculty member Dr. Colleen Dell's Study in Addictions class. The group assignment asked for the students to choose a substance relevant to the U of S campus, identify the harms of the substance, and design an initiative that would lower and/or prevent problematic use of the substance. The majority of the groups focused on alcohol and the different ways the substance affected the student body, both individually and as a group. After the completion of the assignment, the class as a whole identified that binge drinking was a key health concern on the U of S campus that required further research.

In May 2011, Dr. Dell hired four undergraduate students from her Addictions class who showed interest in continuing the research on campus binge drinking with a focus on the U of S. Once hours and work space were settled between the students, Dr. Dell, and the Sociology department, the students set to work with the intention of having a binge drinking prevention initiative ready to roll out in September 2011. As work commenced it became apparent to the students that a fall initiative was not a realistic goal and more work was needed to create a reliable and stable initiative that could be imbedded onto the U of S campus and evaluated for its effectiveness. Between the four students, work was divided up and a proposal was developed for the initiative's supervisors and advisory committee. The components of the proposal included an overview of the issue, theories and methodologies, a timeline of the first four years, and a budget

for the first year. The proposal was approved mid-summer by supervisors Dr. Dell and Dr. Peter Butt, along with the advisory committee that, at the time, consisted of members from the CCSA, the Saskatchewan Ministry of Health, and the Saskatchewan Team for Research and Evaluation for Addictions Treatment and Mental Health Services (STREAM) (What's Your Cap, 2015).

As previously identified, the proposal had different components to it. Once the proposal was completed, it consisted of 6 sections: 1. Issue of Concern; 2. Statement of Work; 3. Work Plan; 4. Evaluation; 5. Partnership & Expertise; and 6. Budget. Section 1 of the proposal identified the causes and consequences of university student binge drinking, with the findings identifying the behaviour as an issue on university campuses that needed to be addressed by the members. The student researchers looked at past provincial efforts done in Saskatchewan, and more specifically, the efforts done at the University of Saskatchewan. They found that work had been undertaken related to alcohol prevention through different campaigns but with limited evaluation and no specific, long term campaigns focused on binge drinking. Due to binge drinking becoming a growing problem, there needed to be a more robust initiative created to address the behaviour while promoting the concept of moderation. Moderation would become key for the members of the BDPI, as they found that the concept of abstinence was not realistic for the student population.

In order to keep the initiative grounded in academic research, the students' proposal the students identified three theoretical influences: 1. Theory of Planned Behaviour; 2. Gain-Framed Messaging; and 3. Theory of Environmental Management. These theories became a guiding influence in making sure the initiative remained imbedded within research, and stayed focused on the need for behavioural change on the U of S campus. The remaining components of the proposal looked at the structuring of the initiative, its evaluation component, and future

suggestions for funding. The initiative was shared with the supervisors and the advisory committee, where all groups worked together to edit the document to create a final product. Once the membership accepted the proposal, the document became a guide for the student researchers to work through the development of the initiative.

As the proposal was being finalized, work began on creating the research plan and ethics application to conduct the preliminary work that would influence the direction of the initiative. Ethics approval was secured at the end of July 2011, with research commencing in the middle of August. In order for the members to collect information on the U of S campus about drinking behaviours and the needs of the students, it was decided by the members and supervisors to conduct a rapid and environmental assessment. To fulfill the requirements of the rapid assessment, interviews, focus groups, and street interceptions were conducted with U of S individuals, including students, faculty, and university administration. Two of the four founding members, along with volunteers recruited in the months of August and September, collected data until January 2012. Data collection was done a number of ways, and included university events such as Orientation and Welcome Week, targeting high-traffic areas on campus, and emailing individuals who were identified through the university website as having an understanding or some knowledge around the culture of the U of S. Once data collection for the rapid assessment was completed, a total of 41 key informant interviews and 3 focus groups were conducted, and 889 street interception surveys were completed, positioning the members with enough information to move forward in creating an initiative that suited the student population.

In September 2011 as work on the rapid assessment moved forward, it became clear to the members of the initiative that more help would be needed to conduct the environmental assessment. In October, the BDPI members applied to the College of Graduate Studies (CGSR)

for a Graduate Fellowship Scholarship in order to hire a graduate student to conduct the environmental assessment. When the members of the BDPI were rewarded the Fellowship, they drafted a job posting, which was posted on the U of S server PAWS and the U of S Student Employment Career Centre (SECC). After three of the top applicants were interviewed, a School of Public Health graduate student was hired. She designed and implemented the environmental assessment to determine if the university intentionally or unintentionally supported a culture of binge drinking. The graduate student and volunteers collected their data by assessing campus events, and analyzing print media found throughout campus buildings. The print media included posters, television images, newspaper advertisements, event ticket sales, and other smaller print mediums found throughout classrooms and student study areas. The environmental assessment, and the employment of the graduate student, was completed at the end of June 2012, with the student submitting her written report identifying the findings and recommendations.

The final report of the environmental assessment was structured by identifying the data source, a breakdown of the data, and the implications for the initiative. The graduate student identified five general data sets: university student demographic data, Campus Safety data, Student Health survey data, alcohol related event data, and newspaper data. From each of these data sets, the graduate student was able to identify a number of factors that would influence the initiative, including: the types of students on campus (e.g. the number of graduate versus undergraduate; male versus female; international versus national), criminal offenses (both alcohol and non-alcohol related) that occurred on campus, the number of social events that occur each year, and when and what types of events are available for students that involve alcohol. From the two assessments, the data was brought forward by the BDPI members to their

supervisors and advisory committee to justify the focus of the initiative and the related activities that would have the greatest impact on the U of S student population.

As identified in the previous paragraphs, the student membership of the BDPI grew with the hiring of a graduate student and the recruitment of volunteers. This growth, along with the continual support from the supervisors, and the student enthusiasm coming from different colleges in the form of student employment and volunteering, is what kept the initiative going. Student enthusiasm was crucial in the work to gain university recognition and support in the upcoming months. Alongside research responsibilities, the students worked to gain endorsement from all university colleges and schools, and from university administration. The BDPI members committed to college and university administrators that endorsement for the initiative could come from them in a number of ways, including their name or college being visible on presentations and future social media (such as website, Facebook, and other platforms). They were also asked for funds to support a position within the initiative, or other forms of support which would help the initiative gain exposure to students, faculty and staff within the college. This step was highly important in making sure that the initiative would be sustainable on the campus. By the end of the first year, the students had gained endorsement from the majority of university colleges and schools. Financial support was also agreed upon by members of the university administration, though this step took time and negotiating to secure.

By the end of the BDPI's first year, much had been accomplished, but there was still a lot to be done and changes that were needed. The supervisory body stayed the same, but student and advisory membership changed, and with that, a new energy emerged. It was decided that now with all the work that had been done around research and gaining support from the university administrative body, it was time to focus on student support. With that, came year two of the

initiative, and the rebranding of the U of S BDPI to the *What's Your Cap?* campaign. The seamless change in leadership and energy could not have happened without the initial groundwork done by the original group to imbed the initiative within the university structure.

2.5 Canadian Higher Education: The Rise of the Corporate University

A university is defined as “an institution of higher learning providing facilities for teaching and research and authorized to grant academic degrees” (“University”, Merriam-Webster, 2015). The modern Western universities evolved out of the Medieval Ages in Europe (“University”, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015). The early European universities were formed to broaden the studies of church clerks and monks, with enrolment expanded to popes, emperors, and kings’ over time (“University”, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015). Early European universities were self-governed institutions with a curriculum based on seven liberal arts (grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music). This governance structure continued until the end of the 18th century, where the dominant focus of religion was displaced for more modern learning and research (“University”, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015).

The first Canadian university was the University of New Brunswick, founded in 1785 (“University”, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015). Since the establishment of the University of New Brunswick, Canada has established 99 public universities and colleges throughout the majority of provinces (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada [AUCC], 2015). At the time, Canadian universities followed the Western European university model by adopting the values of educating the students and having faculty members within a governing body. It was not until World War II that the goals and values of Canadian and Western universities began to shift.

Aronowitz (2005) identified a shift in university agendas from focusing on the liberal arts toward more private and governmental research during World War II, as scientists focused on military technological advancements. The shift that occurred post World War II and into the 1980's in universities was identified as the 'new agenda', where research was encouraged on new technologies and for more involvement from the private sector to create a "dominant, guiding vision of future higher education policy" (Buchbinder & Newson, 1990, p. 355). As the new agenda was implemented in the universities, public education was simultaneously seeing provincial and federal government funding cuts. With the integration of corporate funding and the change in Canadian university identity, questions were raised on whether higher learning should continue to support and serve the public good or if it should be directed towards privately funded activities.

Canadian universities are constituted as public institutions with the mandate to serve the public, but as partnerships between universities and corporations grow, it becomes muddled as to who the university should be serving (Buchbinder & Newson, 1990). As Buchbinder and Newson (1990) identify, the partnerships between universities and corporations created a new image of the university as a *profit-making* centre, done through business ventures that work to fulfill short-term, corporate profit maximizing goals. There are many individuals, both in and outside of the university, that still believe that the institutions should have the long-term goals of education and upholding the values and importance of academic freedom. To better understand the new university structure, the next section of this chapter will look at the rise of the corporate university and its impact on higher education.

2.5.1 Early Signs of Corporatization

As earlier identified, structural changes have been occurring in Western universities since the end of World War II, with an acceleration occurring in the mid-1980's with the corporatization of Canadian universities (Aronowitz, 2005; Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012). For this thesis, corporatization is the action "to be influenced by or take on the features of a large commercial business" (Collins English Dictionary, n.d.). North American universities have had to restructure towards a corporate model due to several reasons. The need for partial university restructuring resulted from federal and provincial government funding cuts, leaving university leaders to look for funding elsewhere, which included the private sector (Turk, 2008). The 1980's saw an increase in university partnerships with the private sector, which raised concern for faculty and other academic individuals around the academic value of the shared knowledge and its possibility of being compromised by the new private partnerships (Aronowitz, 2005; Schafer, 2008). Historically, universities have worked towards the betterment of society through academic advancement and public access to knowledge, yet with the emerging "...corporate university engage[d] in building and developing organizationally-specific skills" (Abel & Li, 2012, p. 103) researchers in universities are now working to privatize and patent corporate-funded research.

As Canadian federal and provincial governments drastically reduced funding to universities, university administration had to become creative in where they found the funds to support the institutional operations, leading towards new partnerships with corporate companies. With these partnerships, private organizations began to influence the type of research done at universities, targeting specific research areas and topics (Buchbinder & Newson, 1990). The Canadian Foundation on Innovation (CFI), which was created in 1997 by the federal government

to “undertake world-class research and technology development to benefit Canadians (Canadian Foundation on Innovation, 2016), had a large impact on researchers qualifying for Tri-Council funding, as stipulations were placed that the researcher must present strategic institutional plans from their university (Axelrod, Desai-Trilokekar, Shanahan, & Wellen, 2011). This connection of research to institutional operations would hinder a pure research focus as it leaves the funding open only to those who comply with specific parameters, such as institutions that are research intensive.

Out of the CFI came the Canadian Research Chairs (CRC), which were heavily influenced by the federal government and the newly created G10, which at the time were a group of ten Canadian research-intensive universities (Axelrod, Desai-Trilokekar, Shanahan, & Wellen, 2011). The CRC positions, which were created as research-intensive positions, were to be housed in university departments. By housing the CRCs in departments, they have the potential of utilizing many resources in the department, while taking away from teaching and student services. As research positions and projects began to use more resources from departments and colleges, universities needed to find more funding to supplement the continued financial demands (Axelrod, Desai-Trilokekar, Shanahan, & Wellen, 2011).

With universities looking to corporate companies for funding, the reconfiguration towards a corporate hierarchy commenced (Aronowitz, 2005). This created two major changes on Canadian campuses. The first change was that as researchers and faculty take on more private funding, their sense of duty and responsibility to departments, colleagues, and students fade. The CRC positions are a strong example of this distancing from department responsibilities, due to the way they are set-up. The description of the CRC when looking for new appointees identifies them as “researchers” and not as faculty, which in turn highlights the major focus for the

individual to be a researcher first and an active member in the university second (Axelrod, Desai-Trilokekar, Shanahan, & Wellen, 2011). Much like the change in faculty to researcher roles, the change towards a more corporate allegiance led to ethical dilemmas, where businesses want patents placed on results coming out of the funded research, along with "...early access to proposed publications and presentations by faculty" (Aronowitz, 2005, p. 105). The importance of creating products and implementing these patents can be found in provincial and national funding agencies, where there are grants that require matching funds to come from other organizations. An example of this comes from the Canadian Institute for Health Research (CIHR) SPOR PIHCI Network: Management and Operations Grant which identifies that "...applicants must secure external partnership contributions to match the CIHR contribution..." (Research Net, 2015). This external partnership includes provincial government funding, which brings in another institution that would have different stipulations on how and where the research money can be spent. These types of demands go against traditional university values that work to share the knowledge found to colleagues, students, and the public.

The second change associated with the growth of the corporate university is the implementation of a new form of institutional hierarchy, where instead of having a self-governance system running the institution, it is now focused on the creation of administrative units and positions that control the activities of the university. Buchbinder and Newson (1990) identify that these institutional changes lead to:

1. The structures and practices of management changing towards a more accommodating form for the new agenda;
2. The need towards a centralized bureaucracy within the university in order to manage all new administrative offices;
3. A lack of transparency as the new arrangements are dealt with internally and never make it to academic senate agendas for approval;

4. And the basic allegiance of the university to academic enterprise is subverted to fulfill the new agenda. (p. 376)

As the administration grows, and the agenda for universities continue to change, these four points become more and more apparent, leading to potential fundamental alterations of university values.

2.5.2 Administrative Structure and Decision Making

The corporatization of the university did not occur over night, as changes happened in subtle ways over long periods of time. Aronowitz (2005) identified that:

During the past fifteen years, the professorate has stood by as the allegiances of administration have, with the encouragement of state governments, shifted from their commitment to higher education as a *public good* to becoming a contract player in the theatre of capitalist hegemony. (p. 108)

With the need for funding, and fundamental changes not apparent at first, change can come quite easily to any organization. During these changes, transparency was not always at the forefront of the administrative consciousness. Many faculty, staff, and students who were not connected to the administrative body were left unaware of the extent of the changes occurring at their university. Buchbinder and Newson (1990) identify evidence of administrations deliberately steering internal conversation of corporate linkages to limit the knowledge being shared with the general university community. Communication during these identified “business deals” would only involve senior level management.³

³ A recent example of senior level management withholding information of structural change to the rest of the university community comes from the University of Calgary (U of C) and their relationship with Enbridge Pipelines Inc., one of Canada’s largest pipeline companies based in Calgary. The partnership between the U of C and Enbridge created the Enbridge Centre for Corporate Sustainability, with emails identifying that U of C administration was being overly accommodating of the private company and their ambitions within the university. With the formation of this relationship, Enbridge had a strong “hands-on approach” with the creation of the new centre, looking to “influence board members, staffing and the type of students that would be considered for awards” (Bakx & Haavardsrud, 2015). This form of influence outraged faculty and the public, calling for the U of C to step back from this partnership, as there was too much power being given to an outside, private organization. This example provides a look into the negative sides of corporate partnerships between universities and industries.

Individuals that support the corporate agenda and the concept of only a select few being privy to important discussions argue that this structure allows for a more stream-lined approach to decision-making. Individuals in large organizations such as universities only are informed on a “need to know” basis (Buchbinder & Newson, 1990). By mainstreaming decisions into a more centralized and managerialized apparatus, it erodes other decision-making bodies on campus, such as senates, faculty councils, and departments (Buchbinder & Newson, 1990). Though mainstreaming can create quicker means of working through certain issues that could take a much longer period of time in traditional decision-making forms, it creates a shroud of secrecy and erodes the values of university self-governance (Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012).

Universities will always need a governing structure. Traditionally these bodies were made up of faculty who would take time away from their academic work to help run the university as a collegial body. This form of self-governance had an open door policy, where issues and concerns could be brought to all positions on campus, including senior administration (Woodhouse, 2010). Now, the university governing structures are run by an administration that is no longer primarily academic, with a mixture of academic and business-trained individuals (Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012). With the change in structure, it denies open communication, as processes and paperwork interfere with open discussion. Due to the high demand of outside forces, administrative roles have found that their working scope has intensified, leaving less availability and focus for academic issues, as administrators handle structural procedures. This change in scope diverts funds and resources to increasing administrative purposes, staff, and space (Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012).

This form of administration is identified as “new managerialism”, which is the ideological approach to the management of publicly funded services (Deem, 2008). New managerialism was

predominant in the 1990's, working towards becoming Western governments' primary choice as a new ideology to oversee publicly funded organizations. This ideology emphasizes the importance of management over all other functions in an institution. As the ideology was institutionalized into the university, there was mixed reception in the ranks of the administration, with not all managers wanting to embrace the new managerialism (Deem, 2008). Deem (2008) identifies that within the university administration, there are different types of managers, who conform to the new managerialism at different levels, which in turn can have differing effects on how policies and procedures of the university are implemented.

With the growth of management, and more positions being filled by career-track managers, administration focuses on efficiency, affectivity, performances, targets, outcomes, markets, and audits, with academics being pushed to the wayside (Purkis, 2010, p. 267). Wernick (2010) identifies the university as now the *Multiversity*, which is a bureaucratic, impersonal, intellectually conservative organization, dominated by both professionals and the professional school. The continuous growth of university rules, along with the issues of trying to decipher the maze of ever-changing regulations, correspondence, institutional directives and review processes, has created a complicated institutional body that many individuals, groups, and smaller organizations, find hard to navigate (McMurtry, 2010).

The growth of the administration has been cast in a negative light in higher education literature. This is due to how the corporate structure curtails and regulates academic work, along with other aspects of university life (Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012). Administrators will identify how difficult it can be to hear all voices on all issues, as they can get lost, and they are aware of the contradictions that can come out of their offices compared to the values that they hold (Purkis, 2010). As decisions are made, they are not always in the best interest of the

university, its faculty, students, or the public, but administration may believe it was the only option that they had, as corporate university structures are created on the ideology of “there is no alternative” (Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012). Administration may see that it is for the best of the university to continue the route they are going, keeping decisions central and within small groups, and to close avenues for critique, challenge, and appeal, as it could slow down the process (Newson, Polster, & Woodhouse, 2012). With the constant university growth, administration may continue to grow and become more centralized in order to keep up with internal and external demands.

2.6 The Corporate University and Alcohol

As the administration and the university move towards a more corporate style of operations, they are also beginning to see the cracks in this form of bureaucratic structure. Where the Corporate University is good at managing many different research projects and top researchers, when it comes to social issues with students, faculty, and staff, things can become a little more difficult. Issues such as binge drinking are not always on the radar or are at the back of university administrators’ minds, and because nothing severe has happened on their campus, they can keep it tucked away. It is the responsibility of initiatives such as the BDPI can bring social and health issues to the forefront of the administrative office’s attention.

As earlier identified, the Corporate University has an adjusted agenda from prior years. Many of these institutions are looking to fund research that will bring in big research dollars, established researchers, and corporate sponsorship. For universities to possibly admit that there could be a social and/or health issue on their campus could be dangerous to their new agendas, blemishing their reputation. There are individuals in administrative positions who do work primarily around the topic of student health and wellness, as issues of student mental and

physical health are becoming more pressing for universities to address. Yet, for students and other individuals working on specific health issues, it is a balancing act of identifying the issues while staying within the boundaries of the emerging corporate university structure.

2.7 Conclusion – Bringing Concerns to the Corporate University

This chapter has brought together the two main thesis components; the culture of alcohol on North American campuses and an overview of what the Canadian modern university looks like. The corporate model has changed the interest of the university, where the main concern is no longer the individuals on campus, but instead focuses on funding, process, and productivity (Aronowitz, 2005). The funding especially raises concerns when it comes to student initiatives such as the U of S BDPI. When governments and administration push for more CRC positions and research-intensive universities, other objectives can get lost or be deemed as irrelevant.

This is not always the case when it comes to Research Chairs. Dr. Dell, supervisor to the BDPI, was the Saskatchewan Provincial Research Chair (PRC) in addictions. As cited from the Addiction in Research Chair's website (2012), the mandate is:

To increase Saskatchewan's substance abuse research capacity, strengthen the training of addiction workers, and increase the effective use of research resources in substance abuse prevention and treatment... [also] an added focus on health promotion.

By having part of the mandate to strengthen training, along with increasing the effective use of research, Dr. Dell was able to give support to the undergraduate students in her previous class to create and run an initiative focusing on prevention. This form of faculty support melds together the importance of previous university values of creating faculty-student academic mentorships, while still fulfilling the needs of the new university structures focusing on research-specific projects, grant applications, and the supervision and mentorship of graduate students.

The PRC at the U of S is a clear and positive example of how the shift to the Corporate University can still incorporate traditional university values. This trend is starting to occur on other university campuses, with the rise of community engagement in departments and colleges. There is the case that some universities who have fully shifted to the corporate model may have not included mandates that encourage traditional values such as student engagement. That can make it difficult for those trying to create on campus as the university values may not be in line with the initiative values. In order to understand how the BDPI worked through the university to understand its policies and procedures, along with the organizational hierarchy that influences the actions of the decision-makers, I combine sociological theorist Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, and Organizational Theorists Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell's New Institutionalism.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework

Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) Theory of Practice in combination with DiMaggio and Powell's (1991) New Institutionalism inform the conceptual framework used in this thesis to investigate how the BDPI achieved recognition and legitimacy within the structure of the University of Saskatchewan. The chapter begins with an elaboration of the meaning of Bourdieu's key concepts of habitus, field, and capital (Gonzalez, 2014; Jenkins, 1992; Swartz, 1997), highlighting their capacity to make visible the micro-level agencies (i.e. university administrators, students) operating within the larger macro-level university structures (i.e. colleges, administration) and serving to facilitate, or impede, the initiative for change.

Secondly, DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism is elaborated on to attend to the interface between university organizations and institutions in their environment (e.g., government corporations, publics). New Institutionalism is used to explore how internal decisions of the universities are mediated by the university's need to maintain legitimacy in its relationships with external institutions. The chapter concludes by re-integrating Bourdieu's Theory of Practice into DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism, focusing on the importance of the micro, or habitus, and the part it plays in the field with the different forms of capital. The conceptual framework discussed in this chapter is applied to the investigation to identify how prevention initiatives such as the BDPI can work with/in bureaucratic systems such as the U of S.

3.1 Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice is generally understood as an effort to reconcile the structure-agency debate in social theory (Burke, 2015). Bourdieu's resolution to the debate comes from his central focus of habitus and how it is the departure point to understanding the

relations between individuals and their social space. Jenkins (1992) identifies Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as:

... a series of emphases: upon the establishment of a statistical pattern of 'reality' as a basic datum; upon problematizing what people say as something other than either simply a reflection of 'what is going on in their heads' or a valid description of the social world; upon the improvisatory and strategic nature of practice, as opposed to viewing behaviour as governed by rules... (p. 68)

The above quote identifies the agency that individuals hold in their social world and that not all actions are purely derived from the decisions of the individual or the rules of their environment.

Instead, it is a combination of the environment where the decision is made, along with the individual's perspective and history, which is influenced by the different forms of capital.

Within the social lives of individuals, there are learned and constructed accounts that go beyond purely theoretical or cognitive functions (Jenkins, 1992). Bourdieu's Theory of Practice looks to "...explor[e] the convergence of agents with structure and culture" (Gonzales, 2014, p. 198), bridging between what people say they have done, and what they have actually done, to understand the production of behaviour and what creates it.

There are features to Bourdieu's theory, which give clarity to his process. Practice is located in space and time, where it can be observed in different dimensions at different moments. It is not wholly consciously organized and orchestrated; it is also not completely random or purely accidental; and practice is not without purpose (Jenkin, 1992). Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and concepts of habitus, field, and capital "...help to stress the importance of inter-elite power struggles" (Swartz, 2013, p. 26). Each component of his theory influences the other to create an understanding of the decisions made at certain times, or in specific spaces, that would not happen elsewhere. Maton (2008) identifies Bourdieu's equation, " $[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$ " which is an effective means of summarizing both, the components and interactions

among the elements captured by Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (p. 51). The equation demonstrates that practice is the outcome of the relation between one's disposition (i.e. their habitus) and the cultural or material tools (i.e. the capital) they possess in the social space (i.e. field) where the practice occurs (Maton, 2008). The equation demonstrates that habitus and capital strongly influence each other in the field to produce the practice. For example, if there is very little capital and a strong habitus, the habitus will be influenced by the capital, giving the individual less legitimacy to add to the field. In turn, the individual has less influence in the overall practice. To better understand each component of the Theory of Practice, the next three sections take up the meaning of habitus, field, and capital.

3.1.1 Habitus

Habitus, according to Swartz (2013), takes the form of embodied dispositions that generate a practical sense for organizing perceptions of, and actions in the world. Gonzales (2014) articulates habitus as "...how one sees the world and [their] place in it, how the world operates, and how one should operate in relation to that world" (p. 200). The habitus is an open system where one can learn and alter their perspectives and understanding of the social world, but all information processed would be filtered through their history (Gonzales, 2014). The habitus is the "...product of history, produc[ing] individual and collective practices" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82). Though habitus is explained as an open system, within it are structures set in place that influence practice. Bourdieu explained habitus as both structured and structuring structures, where it is: structured, by one's past and present circumstances; structuring, where the habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices; and structure, where it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 170).

Each individual on campus has their own past and present influences, which makes up their belief systems and understanding of their social world. The positions that they hold on campus also has a major impact on how they interpret and act on campus. For students, they interpret the ways of the university differently than that of faculty, administration, or staff. A student also holds a different habitus from another student based on their college influences, friend circles, and past experiences. Bourdieu's habitus is created by many inner and outer influences, and is not something that is stagnant due to the interaction of its elements and environmental influences. Habitus does not act alone. It is imbedded and works in the field, creating "unconscious relations" (Maton, 2008, p. 51), influencing how individuals act and understand the greater field.

3.1.2 Field

Habitus is found within the field, which Bourdieu (1998) defines as:

A structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. (p. 41-42)

The field "...situates [the] individual in the milieu of social and objective relations" (Gonzales, 2014 p. 199). It is an area of networks, configurations and objectifiable social spaces, where habitus is formed and acted upon (Grenfell, 2004). There is no limit to the size of the field, as the boundaries are blurry and fields can be found within or overlapping other fields. Field boundaries can be more than what is physically seen. There can be professional, personal, and political boundaries that create the field (Grenfell, 2004). What the different fields and corresponding boundaries have in common are shared interests and stakes, including the state of power relations (Grenfell, 2004).

Bourdieu also defined the field as “a space in which a game takes place... a field of objective relations between individuals or institutions who are competing for the same stake” (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 197 found in Gonzales, 2014, p. 198-9). Bourdieu put particular emphasis on the ‘field of power’, where it becomes the arena of struggle among different power fields and subfields (Swartz, 2013). The university campus as a whole can be seen as one large field, with many subfields layered inside of its boundaries. These subfields in the field of power can encompass a range of areas, such as: artistic, administrative, university, political, and economic (Swartz, 2013, p. 36). For the university, the subfields include colleges, departments, and administrative offices, where different levels of power are held and struggles for this power occurs between the individuals and groups in these subfields. In these subfields are leaders who possess and compete to impose respective capitals in the field. As it is the individual’s habitus that possesses these different forms of capital, two forms of field struggle can occur (Swartz, 2013). The first struggle is the over distribution of the capitals in the field, where one individual may hold more capital over another. The second struggle is legitimizing which form of capital is the most desirable in a field. What may be seen as an important form of capital in the artistic field is not held at the same value in the economic field; however those in the field, and the field itself, can continually change and evolve creating an emphasis on different forms of capital at different points in time (Grenfell, 2004).

3.1.3 Capital

Within the field of power, individuals use capital to solidify their place. It is the capital that the individual possesses that imposes classifications and meanings of legitimacy within their environment (Swartz, 2013). Bourdieu identified three forms of capital: economic, social, and cultural. The most familiar form of capital is economic as it encompasses money and material

possessions. Social capital involves the contacts and networks that an individual possesses. Cultural capital involves, but is not limited to, education, qualifications, marks of distinctions, and the understanding of clothing, behaviour, and language. Alone, or in combination, these three capitals can help an individual move in and around the field. Of the three, Bourdieu held cultural capital in high regard due to the sway that one could have when holding cultural components that were valued within the social world. Though economic capital is assumed as having the most weight in a field, cultural capital can be a strong determinant of the positioning of an individual in the field. Individuals in different settings of the university will hold different amounts of each of the three capitals. Traditionally, students would hold little economic capital as they are paying for their education out of pocket or with student loans, placing them in debt. Being consumers of the university though, they would hold social capital, as there is a need for students to register and attend classes for the campus to continue running and meeting its academic goals. Administrative individuals would hold more economic capital as they deal with the university finances, but because of their position may hold less social capital dependent on the policies and decisions being made that effect the rest of the campus population.

The importance of capital is its scarcity, and with that, the amount of competition it can bring to the field. As with any form of capital, the less of something, or the more difficult it is to acquire, the more demand there will be for it. This demand only occurs if the capital in question is valued by the majority of those positioned in the field. The power of capital is only as much as it is recognized by the group, which is only known when one holds the capital, and it is identified as practical power, therefore activating the capital through recognition (Grenfell, 2004). For an individual, their positioning may involve social and cultural capital, but due to Western ideals of economic capital, their positioning in the field will ultimately be a result of economic wealth

(Grenfell, 2004). That being said, an individual's standing in the field can be altered if they lose cultural capital that is valued by the majority of those in the field. A general example of a weakened position in the field is when a politician falls out of favour with the public for participating in activities that are inappropriate for their position. A politician may be in possession of large amounts of economic capital, but due to the unfavourable activities they participated in, public ratings of the individual falls. Given the equation discussed at the outset of this chapter, this example identifies that even with a strong habitus, the capital an individual holds will influence their placement in the field and their overall practice.

3.1.4 Summary

The complexity of the social world can be explained using Bourdieu's concepts in his Theory of Practice, and the tools of habitus, field, and capital. Bourdieu's sociology has the capacity to connect the everyday world of agents too structures of inequality, that may not be acknowledged on a daily basis. His approach to power stresses the social and cultural bases of politics at both, the micro and macro levels, focusing on less visible aspects of institutions (Swartz, 2013). By applying Bourdieu's Theory of Practice to structures such as universities, one can understand the complexities of the everyday actions by the individuals who occupy the field. The theory can highlight the power struggles that occur, but are not always evident as they get lost in the bureaucracy of the system.

It is important to use Bourdieu's concepts relationally in order to understand the intertwining of the micro and macro components of the social world (Vaughan, 2008). Organizational analysis has frequently used Bourdieu's concept of field to explain "organizational field", which DiMaggio and Powell (1991) call "a recognized area of institutional life" (p. 64 found in Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008, p. 2). The concept of capital has

also been used in understanding organizations, but again is separated from field or habitus, and primarily focuses on economic capital (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). The downfall in its use in Organizational Theory is that because it is not used in connection with field and habitus, it loses the relational nature to the value it holds in the social world. The habitus associates individual behaviour with social structure and connects the macro, meso, and micro-levels of analysis when looking at organizations (Vaughan, 2008, p. 73). This is reflected in the earlier identified equation $[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$, which identifies the relationships between the three tools to create the practice. What Bourdieu's theory does not always accomplish is to convey an understanding of the influence that outside fields and actors have on the legitimacy of the fields and actors in the social world being studied (Vaughan, 2008). Organizational theory (specifically New Institutionalism) highlights the importance of legitimacy while demonstrating the removal of individual habitus to create an organizational habitus. The next section discusses DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism.

3.2 New Institutionalism

DiMaggio and Powell (1991) identify ambiguity around the meaning of institutionalism, with scholars attaching different meanings within the context of different disciplines. From a sociological perspective, institutionalism is:

The way in which action is structured and order made possible by shared systems of rules that both constrain the inclination and capacity of actors to optimize as well as privilege some groups whose interests are secured by prevailing rewards and sanctions. (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 11)

In this definition of institutionalism, the emphasis is on how the rules of an organization shape the actions of the individuals within it, with "New Institutionalism locat[ing] the

irrationality in the formal structure itself” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 13). In

organizational theory, DiMaggio & Powell (1991) define New Institutionalism as:

...compris[ing] a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supraindividual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals’ attributes or motives. (p. 8)

New institutionalism brings forward the influence that an organization has on everyday decision making and rule creation that support the institution, moving away from the view that the individual in a particular position makes decisions based on rational calculations and experiential knowledge.

Universities have always had bureaucratic procedures in place, but with the corporatization of institutions, the focus of the administration steering the bureaucracy has changed from a collegial standpoint to a business model. Meyer and Rowan (1991) argue that “...organizations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized society” (p. 41). University administrative decision-makers now have to rationalize, centralize and standardize the procedures in the institution. As the rationalized institutional rules are implemented by the administration, the organization becomes more formal, leading to less flexibility when individual situations arise. Instead, actions are institutionalized, with social processes, obligations, or actualities becoming a rule-like status (Meyer & Rowan, 1991). The consequences of these institutionalized rules are that as universities become more corporatized, they take on more business practices without fully acknowledging the consequences that this practice may not fit the institution. With universities conforming to the corporate bureaucracy and the need for administration to apply these concepts

to an institution that cannot conform to the standards, the implementation of institutional rules occurs.

“Institutionalized rules are classifications built into society as reciprocated typifications or interpretations (Berger & Luckmann 1967, p. 54 in Meyer & Rowan, 1991, p. 42).

Institutionalized rules are usually taken for granted, can be supported by public opinion, and can have legal implications attached to them (p. 42). An example of an institutionalized rule that is taken for granted and supported by public opinion is the social status of a doctor. The public has a sense of what the doctor’s work responsibilities are though in actuality, the assumed responsibilities of the doctor are not their real ones. With the process of institutionalization, the assumed responsibilities of the doctor take on a rule-like status in social thought or action (Meyers & Rowan, 1991, p. 42). Another example of institutionalized rules with legal implications would be the use of non-smoking signs in public spaces. Due to the signs being implemented by political and legal organizations, there are laws and fines attached to the act of disobeying them. The signs also regulate, and control, smoking behaviours within the public space. The above examples provide an understanding of institutional rules and the possibility that they have to effect organizational structures and the technical work that occurs in them, in turn removing the day-to-day networks of social behaviour and the relationships that compose and surround the organization (Meyer & Rowan, 1991).

Institutionalized rules come out of the creation of rationalized formal structures, which are filling a growing need for the coordination of process and action in organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1991). The rise of rationalized formal structures comes at a time when new organizations are created, forcing old organizations to “...incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized society” (Meyers &

Rowan, 1991, p. 41). Administration in the old organizations work to implement the new policies and procedures so they "...can increase their legitimacy and their survival prospects" (Meyers & Rowan, 1991, p. 41). As the individuals in these organizations work to conform to the institutional rules, conflicts arise between the importance of bureaucratic efficiency and the traditional ceremonies that the organization continues to uphold (Meyers & Rowan, 1991). By upholding these ceremonies, the organization sacrifices the support and legitimacy from outside organizations. In order for the organization to continue to uphold their ceremonies while conforming to institutional rules, individuals within "...tend to buffer their formal structures from the uncertainties of technical activities by becoming loosely coupled, building gaps between their formal structures and actual work activities" (Meyers & Rowan, 1991, p. 41). With these practices in place, and the legitimacy of the organization instilled, other organizations can trust that procedures are being followed, leading to opportunities such as funding and endorsement (Meyer & Rowan, 1991).

As organizations work to implement legitimacy through rules and regulations, support from outside factors becomes guaranteed and trust is instilled between the outside and original organization. With the instillation of trust and legitimacy placed on the organization, the public will value and pay for the issued product, even if the quality of it is at average, or below average, quality (Meyer & Rowan, 1991). When decision-making individuals in organizations incorporate elements into their formal structures that are societally legitimized and rationalized, they maximize the legitimacy of the organization and increase its resources and survival capabilities (Meyer & Rowan, 1991). Universities are a type of organization that do this by implementing and rationalizing elements, such as corporate business models, to legitimize the organization to outside influential sources. As the university administration works to legitimize themselves to

outside influences, they also work to uphold the traditional elements by maintaining certain ceremonial activities (i.e. convocation) which keep the institution legitimate with public influences (Meyer & Rowan, 1991). The problem with the traditional ceremonies is that they conflict with the corporate model's goal of efficiency.

With the need to uphold traditional elements, and the implementation of corporate regulations, the organization is pulled in different directions and the efficiency of day-to-day activities becomes uncertain (Meyers & Rowan, 1991). This short-term inefficiency can hurt the organization in the long term. Meyers and Rowan (1991) identify four partial solutions for the organization:

1. The organization can resist ceremonial requirements where it may be unsuccessful in documenting its efficiency and neglect the important source of resources and stability;
2. The organization can maintain rigid conformity to institutionalized prescriptions by cutting off external relations. By doing this, the organization upholds the ceremonial requirements but disillusionment kicks in for internal participants and external constituents so they can no longer conform or maintain the appearance that the institutionalized myth actually works;
3. The organization can cynically acknowledge that the structure is inconsistent with work requirements and deny the validity of the institutionalized myths, which in turn would sabotage the legitimacy of their organization; or
4. The organization can promise reform where even though the current working conditions may be unworkable, the future of the organization holds promising reform of both structure and activity. (p. 56-57)

The four solutions above are where many universities find themselves having to decide which route to go as they work towards corporatizing their structure. Each solution will have a different outcome, with some of them being more desirable than others. In order to avoid having to choose from one of these four solutions, organizations enforce conformity through inspection, with output quality being continually monitored, efficiency of various units evaluated, and goals unified and coordinated (Meyers & Rowan, 1991). By implementing the actions of inspection for specific areas of the organization, it creates a public record of the day-to-day activities. These

day-to-day activities do not report on all activities of the organization, detaching or completely removing elements of the structure, in order to uphold the legitimacy and trust they have created with outside organizations and the public. By carrying out specific activities, the institution continues to create the illusion that they are conforming to societal pressures. New institutionalism brings forward the rules and procedures found in institutionalized organization that rationalizes the day-to-day activities of the individuals in it and gives a sense of legitimacy to outside fields and actors. In combination with Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, the two theories are able to give the tools needed to better understand the rational of decision-makers within bureaucratic organizations.

3.3 Integrating Theory of Practice and New Institutionalism

The priorities of a bureaucracy push aside responsibilities such as safety and knowledgeable voices, and instead turn the focus to paper work, rules, and hierarchies (Vaughan, 2008). With the focus being on the rationalized responsibilities, it identifies the importance of legitimacy that DiMaggio and Powell highlight in their theory of New Institutionalism (Vaughan, 2008). When delving deeper into the agenda of corporatized institutions, one can see that there is a micro level that New Institutionalism does not focus on. By integrating Bourdieu's Theory of Practice with DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism, the two theories bring forth the micro, meso, and macro-level components of organizations. As earlier highlighted, New Institutionalism alone can strongly focus on the capital or field concepts from Theory of Practice, but rarely are they spoken about together, and even rarer is the component of habitus brought in to the discussion. By using a Bourdieusian framework in support with New Institutionalism as a tool for organizational analysis, the macro and micro become connected (Vaughan, 2008). The combination of the theories identifies an "organizational habitus" concept, where multiple people

in an organization hold a similar habitus that upholds the interest of the organization over their personal habitus.

Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) identify organizational habitus as being “...never solely driven by the considerations of self-interest in the narrowest sense; they are also driven by interests specific to the game in which they are taking part” (p. 19). Individuals may hold different values, with different lived experiences, but a personal habitus can be pushed aside for the larger habitus of the organization and its experiences. Vaughan (2008) identifies the importance of the history of an individual for setting the stage of their habitus. The concept of history affecting the habitus can also be applied at a larger scale to a group or organization. As institutions, such as universities, move forward towards a more corporate style organization, the habitus of the organization is constantly struggling with its history, causing major conflicts in the field. Within the field are multiple factors that cause strain to the organizational habitus. These straining factors can include outside influences from public, government, and individuals and groups found in the boundaries, or field of the university. Each of these groups within the university field hold different types of capitals, which influences the decisions made in the university.

With the multiple semi-autonomous fields and habitus pushing different agendas, they influence the micro-level decision making (Vaughan, 2008). At the micro-level, there are individuals that do not agree with the changes occurring in the university, as it does not support the traditions of the university. Even so, the meso-level (organizational habitus) influences the micro-level decision making, as the organization is dominated by the bureaucratic concept, pushing for efficiency and looking to the outside influences that can support the legitimacy of the organization. Governing this at the macro-level is the “reinforcing disposition from the

organization field that affects the practice” (Vaughan, 2008, p. 75). Occurring between the micro, meso, and macro is the exchange and influence of different capitals, with the different forms determining the positioning of individuals and organizations in the field’s hierarchy of power. Bourdieu identifies that “positions acquire symbolic capital because organizational habitus valorized hierarchy and people recognized the unequal distribution of power as legitimate” (1991, p. 118). Together, Bourdieu and DiMaggio and Powell’s theories can highlight the struggles of power and legitimacy from all levels of the organization.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter identifies Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice and DiMaggio and Powell’s New Institutionalism, which inform my conceptual framework to investigate the integration of the BDPI onto the U of S campus. Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice works towards understanding the micro-level of organizations through his concept of habitus and the intertwining relationship it holds with capital and field. New Institutionalism emphasizes the importance of institutional rules and legitimacy that organizations must uphold to influence outside organizations and actors. Combined, the two theories give an understanding on how individual decision makers in organizations rationalize their actions. In order to analyze and interpret the data and to apply the conceptual framework, the methodology of Institutional Ethnography will be explained in the next chapter and applied to this thesis.

Chapter Four: Methodology

The methodology applied in this thesis is Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (IE). Smith identified the need for a point of departure, where individuals could explain and better understand their role in the larger picture, and in identifying this need, she created IE. The importance of IE is to continuously focus on the individual as the point of departure for the research being conducted. This concept is integral to the thesis, in that by using my own personal reflections and understandings of the initiative, I am able to reflect on my point of departure in the data.

In order to place the research question in the methodology, the first part of the chapter will address the question and objectives originally stated in chapter one. The next section of the chapter will explain IE, its creation by Dorothy Smith, and how it is a point of departure into the research. It will then go deeper into the understanding of the institutional part of IE and how it fits within the workplace, such as the university. Finally, I will begin to look at how IE works specifically when understanding the U of S. The fourth section of this chapter identifies the data analyzed in this thesis, including the obtaining of ethics, from where the data were collected, how the data were selected, and the applied criteria using Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis. The final section of the chapter identifies the limitations of the methodology before moving on to chapter five.

4.1 Research Question

As previously identified in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the research question asks: **How did the U of S BDPI work with/in the bureaucratic structures of the U of S to gain support from administration around the prevention of binge drinking in the student body?**

Additionally, there are three objectives in this thesis, which are to: 1. identify how well BDPI

integrated itself into the U of S during its first year (May 2011 – April 2012); 2. map the administrative structures that exist at the university level; and 3. identify the tools needed to help initiatives working within post- secondary institutions. The reasoning for the three objectives, along with the overall research question of the thesis, originates from my personal experiences in the role of coordinator during first year of the BDPI. As myself and the other members of the BDPI worked through the structures of the university to gain support for the initiative, I became aware of how unclear and frustrating the university structure can be to individuals who are not fully immersed in it. The university website was able to give a general understanding of the structure of the university and college administrations, but it did not identify the specifics that were needed to allow for individuals such as ourselves to successfully navigate the institution. In order for the members of the BDPI to work their way through the organization and gain endorsement from the university and college administrations, they had to identify what resources they possessed that would help them achieve their goal of initiative endorsement. In combination with my conceptual framework, I use IE to pull from the data, and analyze, the resources that the BDPI members had and implemented to gain endorsement from the colleges.

IE helps to answer the research question and fulfill the objectives of this thesis by targeting in on understanding the perceptions of the individual from their particular standpoint in the organization. IE as a methodology focuses on keeping the individual and their viewpoint central to the study. Through the use and understanding of its data collection tools of personal observation, interviews, and analysis of textual data, it creates the picture of an individual in their day-to-day lives and their relevance to the overall functioning of their social space. By going through the data, including university texts, policies and procedures, and the BDPI emails and key informant interviews, along with reflecting on my own personal experience as an original

BDPI member, I can demonstrate a point of departure from an individual's role in the field of an organization such as the U of S campus.

4.2 Institutional Ethnography

4.2.1 What is Institutional Ethnography?

Dorothy Smith first identified IE in the late 1980's, looking to create a sociology specific to women where their experiences in society would be noted and documented from their standpoint. Smith identified that for women located in power structures, there were supports in place for them to succeed, but there was a lack of ruling rights, causing for inequalities. Smith found that these inequalities were difficult to identify due to how rooted they were in organizations. To find and understand the invisible barriers, Smith (1987) began looking at the social organization of the everyday world, where "...its local organization is determined by the social relations of an immensely complex division of labour knitting local lives and local settings to national and international social, economic, and political processes" (p. 154). IE takes on the social relations of day-to-day activities and pulls out the everyday organizational structures to understand the actions of individuals and how unforeseen forces shape them (Smith, 1987). Through this method of inquiry, IE is able to disclose how activities are organized and articulated to the social relations of the larger social and economic process (Smith, 1987).

Ethnography comes from the discipline of anthropology, with the term meaning "writing culture", as it works to map out areas of the social world (Mitchell, 2007, p. 55). By using different methodological tools such as observation and participation, ethnography becomes a form of discovery to understand social processes (Mitchell, 2007). Smith (1987) takes the methodology of ethnography a step further by identifying it as understanding for how something

is and how it works through the practices and relations within a social setting (p. 160). By applying an institutional perspective to the methodology, IE works to understand the relational modes of ruling or power structure found in a social organization (Smith, 1987). In order to find, recognize and understand these relations, IE uses methodological tools such as observation, interviewing, and text-based analysis.

IE studies and understands the social and ruling relations within organizations. “The ethnographic process of inquiry is one of exploring further into...social, political, and economic processes that organize and determine the actual bases of experience” (Smith, 1987, p. 177). In other words, individual researchers need to go beyond understanding the research subject from the outsider perspective and look at a situation from a specific view point. When defining social relations, it is a “...social processes that people enter into during their daily/nightly lives” (Travers, 1996, p. 543 found in Deveau, 2008, p. 6). This form of social relations comes out of the Marxist understanding, which does not identify relationships, but instead identifies connections among the work processes (DeVault, 2006).

It is the social relations, along with the daily societal norms, that dictate many individual daily actions. Along with the social relations found in an organization, are the ruling relations, which “... refer to an expansive, historically specific apparatus of management and control that arose with the development of corporate capitalism and supports its operation” (DeVault, 2006, p. 295). From the individual’s standpoint, researchers can understand how the social and ruling relations interact with one another and affect the individual in the organization. Smith (1987) emphasizes that while keeping individuals central to IE, it also works to keep people as people, and to not treat them as objects of research. By emphasizing the human aspect of the individual,

researchers can begin to see and understand “the standpoint of actual individuals in the everyday world”, which Smith (1987) terms the *point d’appui* (p. 159).

The point d’appui is the specific point of departure from an individual’s point of view and is key to understanding how people see and know their social and institutional relationships. By focusing on the point d’appui, “...the IE stance on experience is that it is real and anchored in material conditions” (Deveau, 2008, p. 14). The researcher can begin to understand the effects that an action can have on an individual and how others perceive it. Deveau’s research focuses on individuals with disabilities in the workforce, using his own experience with disability as a point of departure. Due to a disability, Deveau cannot sit, though he holds a job that involves most people regularly sitting in a chair. Medical doctors and employers have identified Deveau’s disability as a personal, biological issue that he needs to handle. From Deveau’s (2008) perspective, he identifies that the office chair is not a natural object of the environment, but a socially constructed situation, where institutions have implemented that all working individuals must sit while working.

This unwritten, yet institutionalized rule, does not take into consideration that not all individuals in the social space can participate in this social construction. In this situation, the problem that needs fixing is the individual with the disability, allowing for the employer to be removed from taking any ownership of the situation and the possibility that they could accommodate for the individual. This example identifies how IE “...explores the social relations that individuals bring into being in and through their practices, [where] its methods ... are constrained by the practicalities of investigation of social relations as actual practices” (Smith, 1987, p. 160). What should come out of an IE study is a “social cartography that can be used

both by those who are marginalized and by activists to better understand the challenge[s] and to transform powerful social forces” (Deveau, 2008, p. 3).

4.2.2 Institutional Ethnography and the Workplace

As identified, IE is a sociological form of inquiry that explores from the individual point of view the generalized relations of the everyday experience (Smith, 1987). It takes into account the individual in a certain space and time, and orientates itself to critique and social change based on the experiences of the individual. IE studies can take place in different work settings, including healthcare, education, and social organizations. The importance of these organizations is that due to the “institutional processes that are mediated ideologically, ...members can observe and report what is happening in their area of work, and this would be understood and recognized by another member in the same area” with little explanation needed (Smith, 1987, p. 161).

Within a workplace, individuals in a position will recognize and understand the majority of work responsibilities and be able to categorize them. When work responsibilities become categorized based on organizational ideologies, individual agency in the organization is removed. Smith (1987) expands on this concept by suggesting that “categories and concepts of ideologies substitute for actual relations, actual practices, work processes and organization, and the practical knowledge and reasoning of actual individuals...” (p. 163). IE takes the standpoint of the individual, keeping them central to understanding the everyday actions in the workplace.

IE keeps the individual’s activities central to the everyday world by applying three assumptions, which are: 1. when it comes to how people live their own lives, they are the only ones that can be experts on it; 2. subjects are located in sites throughout society; and 3. the powerful outside (translocal) forces shape how people live and experience their everyday lives (Deveau, 2008, p. 3). As IE does not have a comprehensive step-by-step guide like other

sociological methodologies, these assumptions help to guide the researcher working their way through the method. The translocal forces identified in the third assumption are the ruling relations that “...co-order and coordinate the activities and actions of people in and across various and multiple local settings” (DeVault & McCoy, 2002). This can be found in a majority of ordinary daily actions. Table 4.1 identifies how the three assumptions relate to my individual standpoint as a coordinator with the BDPI and the work related to the initiative that was done within the boundaries of the university.

Table 4.1: IE Assumptions and their relation to BDPI

Assumption	Relation to BDPI
1. When it comes to how people live their own lives, they are the only ones that can be experts.	- As a coordinator of the BDPI, I had a central role and viewpoint of the inner workings of the initiative and the university. This experience gives me the advantage of being an expert to understanding the successes and challenges faced by the BDPI members.
2. Subjects are located in sites throughout society.	- My role as a BDPI coordinator was one of many that I held on and off campus, which influenced the ways in which I reacted to situations. This perspective is to be kept in mind when analyzing the roles of administrative bodies of the university, as they too have held, and do hold, many different roles that closely relate to the institution and the surrounding community, that effects their decision making.
3. The powerful outside (translocal) forces shape how people live and experience their everyday lives.	- Individuals holding positions on campus are effected by the institution’s physical and bureaucratic structures, policies, and norms, which in turn shape their daily experiences.

In many bureaucratic organizations, social constructs that have been created in order to rule over the individuals (Deveau, 2008). The ideologies held by the ruling powers in these organizations work to convince “people in society [to] see things through a lens which presents reality in a way [that] suits the needs of those...in power” (Deveau, 2008, p. 28). IE looks to respond to the ruling powers through the “...examination of work processes, and [to] study...how they are coordinated, typically through texts and discourses of various sorts. Work activities are taken as the fundamental grounding of social life, with IE generally tak[ing] some particular experience as a *point of entry*” (DeVault, 2006, p. 294). With the use of IE as a project of inquiry, I am able to analyze the data from the standpoint of my experience as an undergraduate student coordinator of the BDPI, giving me the insider understanding of what occurred during the first year of the initiative.

4.2.3 Institutional Ethnography and the University of Saskatchewan

The goal of IE is to understand the organization being studied from the standpoint of the individuals found within its boundaries. As a previous undergraduate coordinator with the BDPI during the first year, I was fortunate to experience the insider perspective of implementing a prevention initiative on the U of S campus. It gave me a primary perspective at how there are visible and invisible practices in institutions like the U of S. As time has passed since holding the position as a coordinator with the initiative, my perspective of that first year has altered, with certain memories being less clear than they would have if this research had been implemented closer to my time in that role. By using the textual data collected by the BDPI members, along with my recollection of the activities that occurred, I am able to recreate a fairly accurate picture of what happened during the first year of the BDPI to implement IE as a point of departure for this thesis. When individuals perform their everyday work, many steps are taken to accomplish a

task but rarely are these steps recorded, as they are understood as common sense (Smith, 1987). It is those common sense steps that IE works to identify and understand both at the individual and institutional level. What IE will do to understand the implementation of the BDPI onto the U of S campus, is go from the everyday perspective to exploring the everyday from the perspective of the individual (Smith, 1987). For this thesis, the perspectives include my own and the members from the different positions in the university and college administrations. By using IE, I can begin to explore how institutional practices penetrate and organize the individual experience, specifically identifying the procedures at the U of S as the university corporatizes, moving towards a business model and how these changes impact initiatives like BDPI.

IE may shed light on the bureaucratic structures and what roles on university campuses are, or should be, responsible for the physical and mental wellbeing of the student body. As the BDPI is an initiative focusing on the drinking behaviours of students, which affect the health of students on campus, a goal was to work to create a safe place for students to openly discuss their experiences of binge drinking. As binge drinking numbers rise, or stay steady, these campus wide discussions are timely yet different universities have increasingly turned towards harsher policies with legal implications to control student behaviour. Many of these harsh policies are created due to a crisis on the campus, which Smith (1987) identifies as decisions being made in the context of the situation, where the conditions of the environment establish the norms of administrative actions in specific situations. At the completion of data analysis, IE will give an understanding as to why individuals rationalize and implement decisions that are not the best fit to the situation or organization, and can cause more issues than solutions.

4.3 Emails & Personal Recording: Selection & Ethics

4.3.1 Ethics

Ethics approval was received for my research on April 4, 2014 from the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board (U of S REB). The U of S Research Ethics Board identified that risks were low for individuals, and would cause minimal harm due to the majority of the data being textual documents, including the individual notes that the BDPI members took during their employment with the initiative, minutes from meetings with administrative positions, and previously recorded and transcribed interviews done for the BDPI Rapid Assessment. Data also includes email correspondence between the BDPI members and individual members of the university administration. Though ownership of emails and if they are considered public or private documents is debatable, for this research, permission was asked from the individual to use their particular correspondence. The majority of the individuals contacted gave permission for the email discussions to be used, but not all conversations were captured in the data where permission was not given. Though no specific examples could be used from these conversations, there are still general discussions related to them that come through in the discussion chapter as they are imbedded into my experiences with the BDPI. Measures are in place so that individual identities are kept private to the best of my ability, but due to particular administrative positions and the smaller size of the U of S, there may not be complete anonymity. Specific colleges, administrative offices, and student associations have also had identifiers removed. When speaking of a specific college, office, or student association at the U of S, they will be identified as College, Administrative Office or Student Association followed by a numeric number.

4.3.2 Overview of the Data

The majority of my data are textual documents, including emails, personal BDPI member notes, and recorded and transcribed key informant interviews. The emails come from the correspondence between the BDPI members and the individuals that the members identified as having decision making power on campus (i.e. Deans, VD, VP). These emails occurred in the first year and were crucial in setting up the majority of the meetings between the BDPI members and university and college individuals. The key informant interviews were part of the larger rapid assessment being conducted by the BDPI members in order to have an understanding of the drinking culture at the U of S. Much like the emails, the interviewees were identified by the BDPI members through researching the U of S website to find individuals on holding positions on campus that would have an understanding of the drinking culture. Interviews were set up through email and conducted by BDPI members and volunteers at a place (i.e. personal office, campus coffee shop) identified by the participant. The interviews lasted anywhere between 30 and 90 minutes, averaging around an hour each. Table 4.2 gives a breakdown of the number of each piece of data and a brief description. Based on the definition of texts by DeVault and McCoy (2002), they are to be “a relatively fixed and replicable character”, which the majority of the data are (p. 765). Smith identifies text as “speakers in the conversation”, where, as a researcher I can engage with the documents when working with and reading the texts (Bell & Campbell, 2003, p. 117). Generally, texts can come in a variety of ways, from government forms and reports, to drawings, photographs, and more (DeVault & McCoy, 2002). Texts are important to read and understand as they can wield enormous power when enacted by members of the ruling apparatus (Smith, 2005).

Table 4.2: List and descriptors of data

Data Type	Data Description
Emails	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 41 email conversations, equaling 275 emails;- Emails were sent between July 21, 2011 and May 17, 2012;- Email conversations between BDPI coordinators and university positions, such as President, Associate Vice President, Deans, Associate Deans, Administrative Assistants, and Campaign Supervisors;- Email platforms were between the BDPI gmail and the U of S Usask email system.
Key Informant Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- BDPI coordinators and volunteers conducted key informant interviews for the Rapid Assessment. Individuals for interviewing were chosen based on their position on campus and how the position would perceive the campus drinking culture;- Individuals included U of S Secretary, Health Coordinator, Student Health nurse, Director of Campus Safety, Huskies Athletic Director, and Student Counselling Outreach Director;- Interviews were conducted August 11 and 12, and September 15, 23, and 28 of 2011 lasting between 30 to 90 minutes per interview.
Initiative text documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Documents were collected and/or created by BDPI members including: List of College Deans, Dean meeting notes, BDPI Dean presentation, Email drafts to Deans, BDPI proposal, 2011-2012 monthly updates, and coordinator personal notes from research of colleges and administrative individuals.

Alongside the textual documents, I will apply my perspectives of what happened during the identified time period. My perspective gives a place of departure into understanding the structures of the university from an undergraduate student point of view. To extract the key issues in the textual data I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis. As I started reading through the data, I began to see patterns arise in the conversations between the BDPI members and the administrative individuals. The qualitative approach of thematic analysis is a flexible method with the ability to identify patterns in textual data and code the information to come up with the end product of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes coming from the data give

the research an array of aspects in which to interpret and understand the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The themes found in the data “...capture something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 10). These themes are then further explained with the use of a conceptual framework, identifying how the patterns relate to the larger social structures at play. In order to come to the conclusion of themes from the data, Braun and Clarke identify six steps to follow.

Braun and Clarke (2006) identify six steps when implementing thematic analysis, which are: 1. Familiarise yourself with the data; 2. Generate initial codes; 3. Search for themes; 4. Review themes; 5. Define and name themes; and 6. Produce the report (p. 16-23). For this thesis, I loosely followed these six steps, while also applying Smith’s IE and her concept of keeping my point of view central to the analysis. Having been an original member of the initiative, I was already quite familiar with the data, but with their being a time lapse from when the data was first collected, I read through the data several more times to reacquaint myself with it. When I began analyzing my data, I started with the emails, using the internal BDPI documents to support my understanding of the emails. By starting with the emails, I was able to get an understanding of how conversations were initiated between the university administration and the BDPI members. To sort between the relevant and none relevant emails, I used the Dean’s list created by the BDPI members, which was first created when the members were identifying who they needed to contact to set up meetings with. Along with my knowledge of who held the administrative positions at the time, I was able to pull out the email conversations related to the implementation of the BDPI.

While reading through the data, I began writing out the conversations onto cue cards and began sorting the conversations into piles with other similar conversations, essentially moving into step two of the six. I began identifying key words and phrases that were used by individuals to express support or interest for the initiative. From these codes, themes began to arise, from individuals outright supporting the initiative to the opposite, where there was no support. Once the data had been placed in themes (Table 5.1, p. 79), I went through each pile, reviewing the themes to finalize that they were similar to one another. At this time, I also combined step five and began naming the themes. Finally, with the themes created, I was able to report my findings, which are found in chapter five.

The next step of analysis was to analyze the key informant interviews conducted by the BDPI members. Again, I used thematic analysis, but more loosely than with the email conversations. To start instead of pulling out patterns from the interview as a whole, I broke down each interview into the question and grouped the answers together. From there, I began comparing the answers from the same questions, looking for patterns. After analyzing the interviews, I ended up with five key themes that became crucial in answering the research question. By using thematic analysis, patterns were revealed, giving context to the individual standpoints during the time that the BDPI members worked to implement the initiative. The themes also identify the invisible, yet influential structures that played a role in the university administrative decision-making.

The interviews gave a bit of insight into the thought process of administrators, and a deeper understanding of the rationale for the decisions made. The data showed how administrators may understand or misunderstand the environment in which students drink, and what support systems are needed for the student body. A downfall of the interviews was the way

in which they were transcribed. First off the interviews were not audio recorded, but transcribed on a computer in note form on the spot by either BDPI members or volunteers. Some interviews would have one transcriber, while other interviews had two transcribers. There were no specific guidelines as to how the interviews were transcribed, therefore each interview was recorded differently. Due to how the interviews were collected, the data are significant to supporting the emails, but there are no concrete quotes that give substantial meaning to the interview themes (Table 5.2 p. 89). The interview data supported the email data by showing how administrative individuals agreed that the initiative was both important and timely. When it comes to the emails, they not only address the individual and college interest to the initiative, but they also gave insight to the decision-making processes that are followed, or not followed, dependent on the individual and/or college.

By using IE as a point of departure and Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis to theme the textual data, the data has shone a light on decision making and the influence of organizational structures at the U of S, which has the possibility to be applied to other universities. IE can identify the hidden structures that the BDPI members had to work through as they followed the processes outlined by the university. Hidden structures include the social relationships between different departments and individuals throughout the university administration that are not visible to all those found in the social setting. The textual data gives an understanding of the opposing standpoints from the BDPI members, helping to understand the decision processes that occurred within the administrative structures.

4.3.3 Data Criteria

Inclusion criteria were applied to the textual and interview data of the BDPI. The first criteria include only the texts recorded and interviews conducted during the first year of the

initiative (May 2011 - April 2012), as it was during the first year that the majority of endorsement requests to the university colleges and administration from the BDPI members occurred. The second criterion for the textual data is that correspondence or the topic of the document had to relate to a university administrative campus position. Positions were identified by the list created by the BDPI members when identifying the different positions on campus and include directors and coordinators of student centres. Criteria for the interviews are similar to that of the textual data, where only interview participants holding university administrative positions (i.e. University President, AVP Student Affairs, Deans, VD) were included. The main group to be excluded were student group individuals as they had limited power in college decision making and their standpoints on alcohol were similar to the BDPI members. It should be noted that though students groups do not have the final say in decisions made in their college, they do have a role to play in the success of the BDPI implementation. By applying these criteria to the data, I was able to work with a manageable but rich amount of data to understand the decision making of the university administration during the first year of the BDPI.

4.4 Limitations of Methodology

As identified, IE methodology strives to keep the individual central to the analysis, applying their viewpoint as a point of departure in understanding the relationships in a social setting. When applying IE, the concept of it as a point of departure can be altered or lost in its application. As researchers work with the collection and analyzing of the data, over time the centrality of the individual in the social setting gets lost. This can happen when applying other methodologies, such as thematic analysis, where individual conversations and experiences are bundled together in order to understand the larger picture of the organizational structure. By recognizing this limitation prior to analyzing the data, I have counteracted it with the use of

Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and his use of habitus. Habitus brings the researcher's focus back to the individual and their decision-making process within the organization. With this in mind, it is also important to understand that there is a large amount of variability within the administrative processes between departments, colleges, and the university as a whole, which can affect the point of view of the researcher. In turn IE and thematic analysis, compliment Theory of Practice and New Institutionalism by focusing on the larger themes at play in the data.

A secondary limitation to keep in mind is my personal closeness to the data and the initiative itself. As identified throughout the thesis, I was a member of the BDPI as a coordinator in the first year. In this role, I was involved with the initiative in an intimate way from its creation and I was present for the majority of the initiative endorsement meetings with university administration and with the key informant interviews. While present at these meetings and interviews, I had taken personal notes and captured observations about the individuals we were meeting and interviewing. Having been present at these meetings and interviews, there are emotional responses attached to the data from when I was a coordinator and went through the highs and lows of receiving support for the initiative. As I worked with this data, I had to continually be aware of my past experiences, and worked to be as objective as possible, but being open to the understanding that it is difficult to remove all subjectivity.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter identified the methodology of IE that is applied in this thesis. It explained what IE is and how it uses an individual's point of departure to understand the social and ruling relations found in bureaucratic structures, such as the university. The chapter gave an overview of the data, how it was collected, the criteria applied to it and the possible limitations related to both the methodology and my own personal experiences with the data. With the use of IE's point

of departure from the individual standpoint, and my relation to the initiative in understanding the central workings of the initiative, in the next chapter, I map out the social and ruling relations to better understand decision making in the university administration. The next chapter will explain the results of the thematic analysis coming out of applying both the methodological tools of IE and the conceptual framework from chapter three, which combines Bourdieu, DiMaggio, and Powell, to explain and understand the data.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis & Discussion

To understand the success of the BDPI in its first year and how university and college administration decided to endorse the initiative, email conversations and key informant interviews from the BDPI's rapid assessment were thematically analyzed. From the analysis, five themes were identified in the emails, ranging from colleges fully supporting the initiative to the college declining to endorse the initiative, with the other three themes falling at different points between these two outliers. From the key informant interviews, question four, and questions six to ten⁴ have also been thematized to understand the viewpoints of individuals on campus who do not have the decision-making power as administrative individuals but can give insight on how high-level university members view binge drinking on the U of S campus.

The data analysis leads into how the data supports the three objectives identified throughout the thesis. Along with the data supporting the objectives, the conceptual framework is applied placing the individuals from the data into the analysis through habitus, capital, and field to identify the importance of legitimacy for both the BDPI members and the university and college administrations. As each objective is discussed, the success of the initiative is viewed, a new hierarchical map of the university is created, and tools used by the BDPI members for future initiatives is addressed. The chapter concludes with a final overview of data.

⁴ The key informant interview questions include: 4. What do you think the consequences are for individual binge drinking? What about for the broader U of S community?; 6. What services and resources are available for students who are drinking too much? A) What services and resources are missing? B) Who are the key stakeholders?; 7. What past campaigns have addressed drinking at the U of S? What are your thoughts on what an effective binge drinking prevention campaign would look like?; 8. Who/what do students listen to for health-related advice regarding drinking?; 9. What policies exist regarding alcohol consumption on campus and/or by students? Do you perceive them to be effective?; and 10. What non-alcohol related events, services, media outlets, locations, etc. are students most strongly engaged?

5.1 Identifying the Field

As has been identified throughout this thesis, I was an undergraduate student member with the BDPI during its first year, giving me an insider's perspective of the initiative during that time. Due to my standpoint as a central member with the initiative, throughout this chapter I move between first and third person when necessary to explain the point of view of the student coordinator. This point of view, along with that of university administration, are integral in understanding the rational of the decision making process on campus. As my standpoint is from the student coordinator position, I will be able to directly reflect on that perspective, whereas the university administrative standpoint will come from the textual data, specifically the emails and interviews. In order for the BDPI members to gain access to university decision makers, work needed to be done to understand the campus hierarchy.

Discussions between the BDPI coordinators, supervisors and the advisory committee occurred, where it was identified that the university email system would be the most appropriate way to make first contact with university decisions makers. In order to identify the individuals who needed to be contacted by the BDPI membership and to collect the proper email addresses, the students decided to search the U of S website and each College website to find the proper contacts. On the webpages, the university hierarchy was loosely identified, giving the BDPI members a starting point to begin creating a hierarchical map of the university structure. Figure 5.1 (p. 78) is an organizational chart of the U of S structure as understood by the BDPI members. It should be noted that this figure was created from university information from 2013 and therefore some of the offices and responsibilities under each Vice President (VP) may have changed as there was college and administrative restructuring occurring on the campus during that year. Figure 5.1 (p. 78) still reflects the university hierarchy the BDPI was working with.

Once we, the BDPI members, were able to identify the colleges and schools that we needed to make contact with, we began to email the decision-making individuals. This process of mapping out the structure and emailing the identified individuals would give us the knowledge needed to pinpoint the key informants for the interviewing process, along with access to start setting up meetings focusing on initiative endorsement.

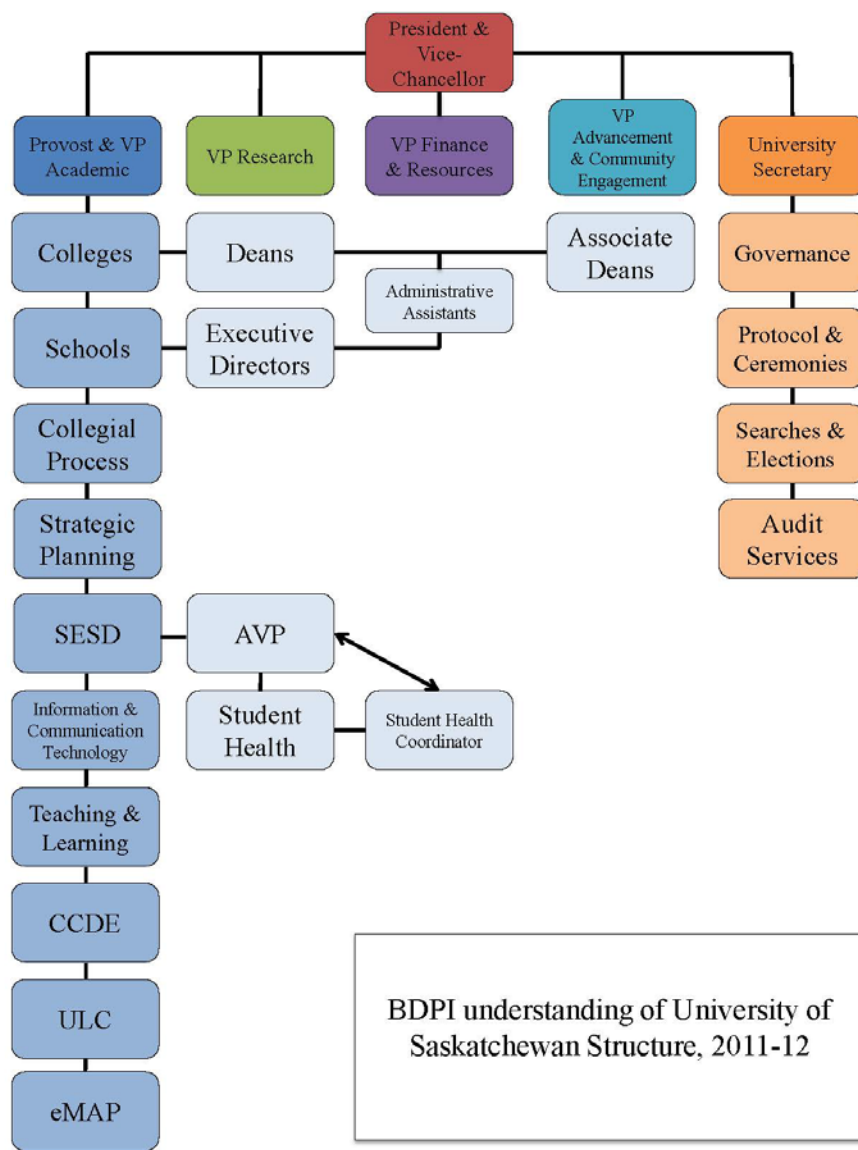
As myself and the other members of the BDPI began emailing college deans and their counterparts, we soon began to find that the structure created on the university website was not a reflection of the reality in contacting these individuals. Different barriers appeared in the form of bureaucratic process, human beings, and time. The barriers were not identified in the university structure, but appeared as assumed entities known by those holding administrative positions. An example of these unknown but assumed barriers would be when a BDPI member contacted a Dean through email and the Dean would redirect them to a VD or their administrative assistant (AA) to continue the conversation. Some emails were dead ends with no dialogue taken up by the contacted individual, but other emails would lead to future key partnerships for the BDPI members. The emails were a crucial first step in creating these partnerships, and as I worked through the analysis of them, patterns materialized, identifying the different decision making rationales individuals held, which can help or hinder a campaign such as the BDPI.

5.2 Email Themes

Table 4.2 found in chapter 4 (p. 68) identified that there were 41 email conversations totalling 275 individual emails that were between the BDPI members and university administrative individuals. Emailing began on July 21, 2011 with the last reply from a college administrator occurring on June 20, 2012. Responses to the emails were varied, with some individuals responding the same day, such as thoughts from College 1 and College 2. Individuals

from College 5 and College 7 took weeks to reply with the need for multiple email promptings from the BDPI members to respond to their original requests. As I worked through the emails, it became apparent that though the email conversations were with an array of individuals from different academic backgrounds in different colleges, there were similarities of how they responded woven throughout. Dependent on their position on campus, individuals

Figure 5.1: 2011-2012 University Structure



loosely followed an unwritten email structure. Deans started with a greeting to the students, then a sentence or two identifying the importance of a drinking prevention initiative and concluding with an action that they themselves or the BDPI member needed to take. It is the actions they identify where my thematic analysis of the emails distinguished five themes. The five themes and their descriptions are identified in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Identified themes and descriptions

Theme	Description
Theme One – Initiative endorsed by primary contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dean/Executive Director is supportive of the initiative, willing to meet alongside individuals they identify as key players to be at the table; - Structure of emails: they identify their support for the initiative, who should be meeting alongside them (ex. a VD or AD), any information they might want to add (ex. college strategic plan), and end with steps to set up a meeting to discuss the initiative face to face.
Theme Two – Initiative endorsed by secondary positions identified by primary contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary contact supportive of the initiative, but delegate next steps to a different individual in the college (i.e. VD or AD), removing themselves from the conversation. Email conversation switches to secondary individual with little to no input on this shift from BDPI member; - VD and AD email structure not as clear as Dean email structure from Theme 1, but still follows a loose pattern, identifying possible meeting time and interest in initiative through questions and document requests.
Theme Three – Initiative endorsement took time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dean/ED interested in initiative, but no definitive yes or no to support. Those contacted that fall under this theme forward conversation to their AA with the instructions to set up a meeting between themselves and BDPI members; - Loose email structure when it came to AA emails. Mainly based on the individual writing style, and their background, with the majority of emails being short and straight to the point to set up the meeting.
Theme Four – Initiative endorsed through administrative process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individuals are interested in the initiative but they have to follow college/university bureaucratic processes, with little agency. There are miscommunications between individuals and structures, causing problems for the BDPI members to gain endorsement.

Theme Five – Initiative not endorsed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual not interested in the campaign, does not identify any clear reason as to why. - Emails are short and blunt, with little to no invitation for further conversation.
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The next few sections delve further into the themes found in Table 5.1. Examples are pulled from the emails sharing trends and how different individuals within the colleges had similar responses or actions to the original email sent by the BDPI members. The examples also show how there are unknown or misunderstood university processes that even those who hold top positions in the hierarchy do not follow.

5.2.1 Theme One: Initiative Endorsed by Primary Contact

As shown in Table 5.1, theme one identifies the colleges and individuals who were supportive of the BDPI. The first to reply to the email sent on July 21, 2011 was the Dean of College 2. In the first sentence of their email, the College 2 Dean identified that, “I most assuredly support this initiative and look forward to further conversation to determine how to be the most helpful to your team” (personal communication, July 21, 2011). Another example similar to this comes on the same day from the Dean of College 1, simply stating, “I would be very supportive of this initiative” (personal communication, July 21, 2011). These two emails were promising for the BDPI members and identified a sense of autonomy for the Deans from the institution and its procedures.

This autonomy can be identified by their quick actions to meet and discuss the initiative with the students. Both College 2 and College 1 Deans identified other administrative and key individuals in their college, such as student groups, that needed to be present at the table for the discussion. The Dean would then proceed to delegate responsibility to their AA to set up the

meeting with the identified individuals, themselves, and the BDPI members. This quick action was recognized as something positive for the BDPI members, but as discussions moved forward into the first year of the initiative, it became apparent that there were processes in place that were not being followed by the Deans and other college members, causing future roadblocks. The creation of roadblocks through unknown and sometime ignored processes will be discussed later in the chapter.

Other email replies to the BDPI members were supportive of the initiative, but the replies from the Deans took time. Some individuals needed only one reminder to respond to the original email, while others needed multiple prompts. Deans from College 3, College 4, and College 5 took about a week to respond with the need of only one reminder email to be sent out by the BDPI member. In this reply, they identified the importance of the initiative and their initial support to meet with the students alongside their identified individuals from their college. The emails followed a loose pattern, with a greeting to the students, a few sentences around the need for an initiative like the BDPI and an action. Though these colleges did not respond and act as quickly as other colleges had, they worked to bring the proper individuals to the table and start a conversation between their college and the BDPI members. Much like theme one, theme two emails from university administrative individuals identified the importance of the initiative but swiftly shifted responsibility to individuals in lower positions than their own to continue the conversation with the BDPI members

5.2.2 Theme Two: Initiative Endorsed by Secondary Positions Identified by Primary Contact

Theme two encompasses the email conversations with administrative individuals who responded to the BDPI members but identified that the conversation would continue with someone in another position in their office. Some individuals gave reasoning to why they were

shifting the conversation away from their position to another in the college, while others gave no reason but instead sent an email identifying the action that further discussions occur with the identified individual. For the emails that did not give a reasoning for the change, the BDPI members assumed that it had to do with time constraints in their schedules and did not question the change, though there was disappointment that time was not made for them and the BDPI initiative. During the first year, the BDPI members also began to understand and accept the shifts in conversations as they knew they could not meet with those at the top of the hierarchy until they had created relationships with mid-level positions, therefore working their way through the university administrative hierarchy.

Theme two email conversations would follow one of two paths. The first path involved the reply of the originally contacted individual, addressing the importance of the initiative and directing the BDPI members to meet with someone else in the college to continue the conversation. The second path that the conversation could take is that the originally contacted individual would automatically forward the email from the BDPI members to a different member in their college, identifying the actions needed to move forward. These two email pathways were different in the way that they moved the conversation forward with the BDPI, but incurred similar results in keeping the discussion going in the college with different membership.

With the first identified email pathway, the body of the email was short and the message was positive but to the point that further conversation about the initiative would occur with the newly identified individual. An example of this email pathway comes from a conversation between the BDPI member and Administrative Office 1. When contacted by the BDPI member, Administrative Office 1 replied:

Thank you. This is an excellent initiative. By this message I am asking [name removed], Associate Vice President of Administrative Office 2 to assist and cooperate in advancing the proposal.

(personal communication, July 22, 2011)

In a matter of three sentences, Administrative Office 1 acknowledged the initiative, identified its importance, and swiftly directed responsibility to another individual in the office. From there, the conversation was restarted with a new and previously unidentified individual by the BDPI member. This particular conversation was important for the future of the initiative and establishing it on the university campus. When discussions began with the AVP of Administrative Office 2, the conversation shifted again towards another group of individuals in the AVP's office. This continual downward shift in the institutional hierarchy became frustrating for the BDPI members, slowing down discussions and eroding their original understanding of the university structure.

The other email path is that theme two identifies the willingness of the secondary individuals assigned by the Dean to continue discussions with the BDPI members, but a lack of understanding of college policies and procedures from the individual. When the AVD of College 6 replied on behalf of the Dean and college, the AVD was quick to identify their availability to meet and discuss the initiative. When the BDPI members met with the AVD, it was clear that the individual was both new to the position and the university, with little knowledge of the U of S campus. The discussion went well, but with the lack of knowledge of the U of S campus and the events that occurred within their own college, discussion around the environment and possible solutions were limited. The BDPI members appreciated the time taken by the AVD, but it was clear that they needed to meet with the Dean specifically to discuss the initiative and the important role of College 6 in supporting the goals of the BDPI.

For the most part, emails in theme two involved positive conversations with administration showing interest in both the goals of the initiative and moving it forward in their own administrative offices and the colleges. Yet, due to the lack of understanding around administrative process or the limited actions done by the secondary contacts, endorsement of the initiative took longer to achieve. Many of the secondary conversations started shortly after the initial email was sent out on July 21, 2011, but continued on into September, with some of them not coming to a conclusion until the spring of 2012. As theme two saw a shift of responsibility, theme three saw the automatic exchange go from the identified individual to the AA of those contacted.

5.2.3 Theme Three: Initiative Endorsement took Time

Like theme two, theme three's email conversations fell into two categories. Some of the email conversations involved the identified individual commenting on the initiative, showing interest to meet with the members for further discussion, and then passing the conversation off to their AA to discuss the logistics of the meeting. Other conversation were directly sent to the AA with no previous discussions had between the contacted individual and the BDPI members. Along with these two email categories, there were also email conversations that started in theme one or two, but as the conversation continued the emails shifted into theme three with more questions and procedures around college endorsement coming up.

With the change from a Dean position to the AA handling the conversations, the process in which discussions could happen between the BDPI and the Deans varied based on the AA. Some AA would promptly reply and arrange meetings with the appropriate individuals, while other AA took long periods of time to reply. The AA's that took much longer to reply to the BDPI members held up the discussions around college endorsements for months. The spotty

responses from the AA could be due to numerous reasons, from the AA themselves not wanting or seeing the need to respond promptly to the students, to them having delays on their end from the Dean. As these delays are found outside of the email conversations, there is no data to show exactly why the conversations took so long, and assumptions are made related to the processes that occur in bureaucratic systems that can hold up actions such as meetings.

Due to the hold up of responses from the end of the AA, this theme shows the time it took to set up meetings with the identified individuals in order to gain endorsement, identifying how slow the process could be to move decisions forward. That being said, not all conversations between the BDPI members and AA individuals followed this path. Some conversations moved quite quickly, with outcomes, such as setting up and finalizing meetings were occurring on the same day the email was sent. Where theme three acknowledged obstacles in moving along conversations because of the individual the members were having the conversation with, theme four identified how conversations were stalled due to university processes and procedures and because of pressing university structural issues that eclipsed the importance of the initiative.

5.2.4 Theme 4: Initiative Endorsed through Administrative Process

Theme four categorizes email conversations originally in themes one and two, where the discussions were at first promising for endorsement but as they progressed, the attitude toward the initiative from the contacted individual shifted. When conversations first began, there were positive responses in the forms of meetings or the willingness to continue discussions around how the college could support the initiative, with the end goal being endorsement. In theme one, College 1 was identified as being a Dean/College that showed interest and a strong possibility for support early on. During the face-to-face meeting between the BDPI members and College 1, endorsement was received. In later months, College 1 individuals identified that college

processes were not followed when collecting the endorsement and in order for the initiative to receive College 1 endorsement, they would need to work through the steps, including having the initiative presented to the Deans of the college at a monthly meeting. From this point, members of the BDPI began to work on attaining College 1 endorsement, which involved being put on the agenda for the Dean Meeting 1.

On September 22, 2011, the BDPI members received an email from a College 1 AVD identifying that they will:

[A]sk that this be put on the agenda for our next Dean Meeting 1. That way, we'll have representation from School 1 and Program 1 as well as from the other programs themselves. (personal communication, September 22, 2011)

Following this correspondence, the AVD identified when the next meeting would be so the BDPI members were aware of the possible process time. The members of the BDPI accepted this process as they believed it would help them gain full college endorsement and waited for a response. What the members received instead of endorsement were ongoing email trails with delays and roadblocks from unknown administrative processes, groups, and individuals. Specifically, for the individuals who were blocking the goal of the initiative to gain college endorsement, based on the email correspondence, it was not done maliciously. Delays involved sick leaves, transfers of the conversation to other individuals in the college less committed to the issue, and to the president of the college student group whose priority was to complete her final year and therefore had a full schedule, leaving little time to help the initiative.

Theme four identifies the lack of understanding or knowledge around bureaucratic processes in the university and problems it causes in delay and ultimately terminating projects. This lack of knowledge hinders important issues outside of the main decision makers scope from going through the proper pathways to be adopted or dismissed by the college. For the BDPI

members, not attaining College 1 endorsement, it was particularly frustrating as the topic of the initiative fell within the realm of the college's focus. Much like theme four, where processes hindered and stalled the initiative from gaining support, theme five identifies an unwillingness to entertain the idea of endorsement and support for the initiative.

5.2.5 Theme 5: Initiative not Endorsed

Theme 5 is the final theme and is fairly straightforward in its messaging, being the opposite response to those found in theme one. Where theme one's email conversations showed interest and extraordinary support for the initiative by the individuals, conversations from theme five had quite the opposite. The BDPI members could consider it a positive that there was only one school on the university campus that fit into this theme. The conversation with this school was one of the last that the BDPI members needed to have to ask for a meeting and possible endorsement. The first email was sent out in early spring, with a second email following it on May 17, 2012, asking the Executive Director (ED) of School 1 for a meeting. A reply was sent back to the BDPI members identifying that the ED had received the email and will discuss with the school's "...student reps if they would like to meet and discuss further..." (personal communication, May 18, 2012) about the initiative. The ED signed off the email thanking the BDPI members for their "...efforts in this important initiative" (personal communication, May 18, 2012). A month later, the Bdpi members received a reply, in which the email said:

Hi – it looks like we will not be able to pursue this further, but thank you for the information and we will keep posted of events via your website, we do appreciate the efforts being done to address this important issue,

Executive Director (personal communication, June 20, 2012)

From this email, the ED never identified specifically why the initiative was not endorsed, but it was made clear that there would be no further discussion on the matter. At the time that this

response was received by the BDPI members, they did not further pursue it as they were working on attaining College 1 endorsement, where the school that had said no to the BDPI was a member under College 1. This email did cause frustration as there is no room for negotiation around how a school such as School 1 could support and be supported by the BDPI.

5.2.6 Email Theme Overview

These five themes identify how the different colleges and schools on the university campus have autonomous decision-making bodies separate from the larger institution's administration. This gives the individuals within the different colleges/schools a sense of agency, yet at the same time leaving room for them to not fully know or understand their college/school policies and procedures and how they fit in the larger university structure. Much of the original decisions made allowing the BDPI to enter a college were done at the individual level, which could have a positive effect like the colleges found in theme one and two, or create blockages, slowing down or completely stopping the process in themes three through five. These five themes give an insight into the decision-making process and the roles that individual and larger administrative groups have. What the emails are missing is a better understanding of the central view point of the individual decision maker and the decision making process that they must adhere to.

To fully understand the individual decision-making process of a university administrator, I have thematically analyzed five key informant interviews done by the BDPI members between August 11, 2011 and September 28, 2011. As stated in chapter two, the BDPI members conducted a rapid assessment in order to get a general understanding of the drinking environment on the U of S campus. Methodology included in the rapid assessment included conducting key informant interviews with individuals on campus that the BDPI members identified as having a

knowledge of university student drinking behaviours. With the insight of the interviews and their hands on experience in the capacity of their position, they were able to shed light to the BDPI members around the severity of the issue and what they believed was needed to support the students. The next section looks at specific questions from the interviews relating to the thought process of the administrative positions, which I then relate back to the email themes.

5.3 Key Informant Interview Themes

The interviews took part with six different positions on the university campus, including: the University Secretary, the Health Education Coordinator and a nurse from Student Health, the Director of Campus Safety, the Huskies Athletic Director, and the Health Services Outreach Coordinator. These six positions do not relate to a specific college or school, but instead to a specific program (i.e.. the Huskies Athletics program) or to the university as a whole (i.e. the University Secretary). With the positions being tied to the larger campus environment, and not to a specific college, the perceptions of binge drinking given by the individuals relates to a larger picture, and how that effects the individual, the student body and the campus.

The interview design had the BDPI members ask 10 questions to the individual being interviewed. For the purpose of this thesis, questions four, and six to ten specifically relate to the perspective of the administrator's view on student drinking behaviours. Table 5.2 identifies the interview question and the theme drawn from the answer of the six individuals interviewed.

Table 5.2: Key Informant Interview Themes

Question	Theme
Question 4: What do you think the consequences are for individual binge drinking? What about for the	- The farther away that an administrative position is from daily interactions with the student body, the less they understood the drinking environment and consequences. Those that worked with students on a daily basis had more

broader U of S community?		of an understanding. I.e. student Health Educator had specific statistics around student health consequences related to binge drinking.
Question 6: What services and resources are available for students who are drinking too much?	-	Individuals identify general university services but nothing binge drinking specific. They see a need for an addictions councillor. Interviewed individuals identify the need for the student's union to do more, playing a strong stakeholder role. There was also concern of the campus bar being owned by the student's union and the issue of business priorities over liability priorities.
a) What services and resources are missing?		
b) Who are the key stakeholders?		
Question 7: What past campaigns have addressed drinking at the U of S? What are your thoughts on what an effective binge drinking prevention campaign would look like?	-	General knowledge gap around the services and initiatives on campus or provincially preventing binge drinking behaviours. Believe that if campaign does exist, it was more of a past event. Only interviewed individual that had a clear understanding was the Health Educator.
Question 8: Who/what do students listen to for health-related advice regarding drinking?	-	All individuals interviewed identified that students will listen to their peers, followed by their parents and professors.
Question 9: What policies exist regarding alcohol consumption on campus and/or by students? Do you perceive them to be effective?	-	Lack of knowledge and/or understanding related to university alcohol policy. Individuals identify a lack of institutional unity, with different organizations having different policies (i.e. the U of S Student Union, University Residence). Identify the need for a unified policy across campus, but unknowing of the effectiveness of institution policies.
Question 10: What non-alcohol related events, services, media outlets, locations, etc. are students most strongly engaged?	-	Identify the lack of non-alcoholic events and a lack of imagination on themed events, where the only option identified by the individuals interviewed were sports.

The interview themes work to explain how individuals understand and perceive binge drinking on campus, giving insight to their decision making process. The interviews identify the

misperceptions that administrative individuals can have around their campus drinking environment, and therefore have little information on what initiatives and educational tools are need to be put in place to support the student body. An example of the administrative misinterpretation of the environment and student is when university administration suggest the need to have more university councillors. Though this method is extremely important for some individuals who are ready to accept they need one-on-one help, it does not deal with the large environmental issues. By identifying this more focused type of intervention, it shows that administrative individuals may only see a narrow solution to a broad issue.

That stated, many of the emails reviewed did identify the importance of an initiative such as the BDPI and were enthusiastic about it, as there was nothing quite like the BDPI's approach and focus related to binge drinking on the U of S campus. The interviews support this notion by identifying the lack of initiatives focusing on binge drinking, specifically at a peer-to-peer level, where knowledge of safe drinking and binge drinking consequences can be shared safely in a no judgement set-up. Colleges such as College 1 saw the BDPI as a pathway to updating and working with their policies and procedures related to students and alcohol in their college. With Administrative Office 2 AVP, their endorsement led to discussions and involvement of the BDPI members in revamping the university alcohol policy, which helped to start filling in the holes of the currently weak policies. None of this could have been possible for the BDPI to accomplish without the members learning to understand the gaps in the university hierarchy and the unknown individuals and pathways leading to strong decision makers.

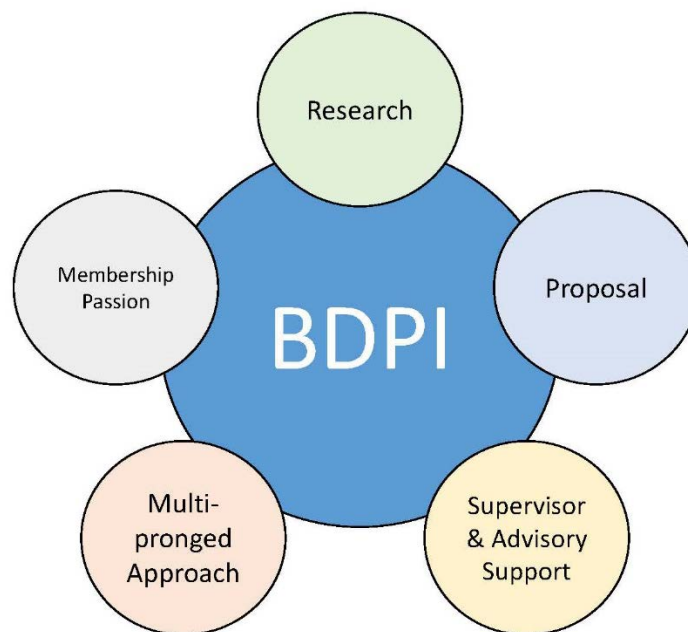
5.4 Objective 1: Implementation Success? Year One of the BDPI

During year one the BDPI, members secured endorsement from the majority of colleges and schools on the U of S campus. As identified in the data through the thematic analysis, there were colleges that supported the initiative from the start, while others colleges took longer as the processes and individuals slowed down the process. Though there were roadblocks and extensive timelines, by the end of year one the BDPI members had gained endorsement from the majority of colleges, schools, and university administrative offices on campus (12 out of 18 identified by initiative members). The members had also struck up discussions with the U of S administration, specifically an AVP to implement the initiative into the structure of the university to keep the initiative going long term. Based on the amount of positive feedback in the form of endorsement, social, and economic support from the different college and university administrations, the BDPI members could confidently identify the first year as a success.

While working with the data, I personally reflected on the data and my experience with the initiative during that first year, addressing the highs and lows faced by the members. From this, I was able to identify five key elements, which supported the initiative to gain endorsement from the colleges and individual decision makers. In order to identify the five elements, I used a combination of my conceptual framework with the focus of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism, the standpoint of Smith's IE, and Braun and Clarke's 6 steps for thematic analysis. Bourdieu's theoretical tools of habitus, field, and capital were able to expose the importance of the different elements that the BDPI members needed in order to be seen as legitimate to administrative individuals. The importance of legitimacy comes from DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism. By applying Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis steps, patterns in the data appeared, revealing to me that as more capital was gained by

the BDPI members, the more legitimate the initiative became. These theoretical and methodological elements revealed the five key elements for a successful initiative, which include: 1. the research that highlighted the need for the BDPI on the U of S campus; 2. the creation of a proposal which outlined the necessity of an initiative and showed its longevity in a four-year timeline; 3. the support and guidance of the supervisors and advisory committee; 4. the passion of the BDPI members; and 5. accessibility of the initiative to all campus members through a multi-pronged approach. Below, the five key elements are explained further, relating to how they supported the overall implementation and success of the initiative on the U of S campus. Figure 5.2 gives a visual overview of the five elements and how they overlapped with the initiative in supporting its success.

Figure 5.2: BDPI Key Elements for Success



5.4.1 Research

As the BDPI members began to work on the initiative, they identified that in order to be seen as legitimate to the administrative decision-makers, they needed to identify the seriousness of binge drinking locally and nationally, and identify the possible consequences that would affect the individual and the environment. Initiative legitimacy would be a key factor for the BDPI members to share with administrative individuals to gain endorsement from the colleges. By having legitimacy, the probability of colleges supporting the initiative would rise, and the legitimacy of the college to outside influences (i.e. private organizations) would also rise as they show their support for an initiative that focuses on student health. To identify the problem of binge drinking and the need for a prevention campaign, the members conducted a literature search. There was also the need to have campus related data to show the specific needs of the U of S campus. A rapid assessment plan was implemented alongside the literature search to give a general understanding of the drinking environment at the U of S. The rapid assessment included key informant interviews, focus groups, and street interceptions, alongside an environmental scan. This baseline data would be supported by an evaluation survey conducted twice a year, to see if there were changes in behaviour related to drinking on the U of S campus based on the implementation of the initiative. By sharing the research plan with university and college administration through initial email contact and again at endorsement meetings, the BDPI members were able to identify that the initiative would be established in research and would be continually assessed for effectiveness so that it could make the appropriate changes as needed to suit the population. All of this, along with other elements to the campaign, such as a timeline, was presented in a proposal.

5.4.2 Proposal

The proposal was a second key element for the BDPI members in establishing endorsement. As identified in chapter two, the proposal included many elements to giving an overall picture of binge drinking on university campuses. The proposal also shed light on the need for a focused binge-drinking prevention initiative on the U of S campus, and how the BDPI would be the best option to address this issue. The creation of a proposal highlighted to individuals that the initiative was a well thought out intervention based in literature and research. The timeline and budget showed the longevity and sustainability of the BDPI, including its cost effectiveness for the university with its low budget. The proposal also highlighted the educational piece that would give tools to the university students in making informed decisions on their drinking based on their physical, mental and environmental state. By using the proposal as a tool for endorsement, the BDPI members were able to further their legitimacy to the university and college administrations. Another tool that the BDPI members had was the support of U of S faculty members and provincial and national support from research experts in the fields and government decision makers.

5.4.3 Supervisor and Advisory Support

The research and proposal played a large part in legitimizing the initiative, but as undergraduate students in the university, our hierarchical positions were quite low. With the support of university faculty, outside researchers and government members, the BDPI members were able to demonstrate that other outside individuals supported the initiative. The two supervisors were experts in their field, with one holding the Provincial Research Chair in Substance Abuse, and the other being a practicing licensed physician with a focus on addictions and medicine and having personal involvement in the development of the national Low Risk

Drinking Guidelines, which were key in the messaging of the BDPI. Individuals on the advisory committee held positions in provincial government (i.e. The Ministry of Health), in provincial liquor decision making (i.e. The Saskatchewan Liquor and Gaming Authority), and as national researchers and policy analysts (i.e. the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse). The positions held by the supervisors and advisory committee were crucial in demonstrating the credibility of the undergraduate students to implement and run the BDPI.

Along with the social capital that the supervisors and advisory committee brought to the initiative, they also had economic capital invested into the initiative, showing their willingness and trust to support the BDPI members. When appropriate, the BDPI members were able to identify the economic capital in their meetings with university and college administrative individuals, showing their economic legitimacy. As money was already invested into the initiative and its activities, the members could use it as leverage to request funds from college and university administration. This leveraged money would demonstrate to the decision makers that there was already capital invested into the initiative, and that they would not need to front all of the expenses, as different individuals and colleges were economically supporting different activities and parts of the initiative (i.e. a college would support the wage of one paid BDPI member instead of all paid members). As the BDPI members succeeded in addressing their social and economic capital, they lacked in presenting cultural capital. BDPI members were up front in identifying exactly who they were receiving their guidance from in the community in order for the colleges to know that the initiative they had created was worth their time. Without this third key element, there was the possibility of administrative members dismissing the initiative and the student members. The fourth key element that helped in the initiative succeeding was showing the flexibility of the initiative by using a multi-pronged approach.

5.4.4 Multi-pronged Approach

The BDPI members understood quite quickly the importance of campus community and how it is a large part of the U of S identity. By being members of the campus, they knew that many of the staff and faculty on campus were also parents to students and their role as both university members and parents could play an important role on discussions around binge drinking behaviours. As the BDPI members began to implement their research plan, they began to find that there were a significant number of students, both undergraduate and graduate, who did not drink. Their reasoning varied from not enjoying the taste to past family issues with alcohol, but these individuals were just as crucial to the initiative as the heavy drinking students. In order to capture the non-drinking students, the members focused on creating an initiative that was all-inclusive, making sure that gender, sexual orientation, age, school year, role on campus, and drinking status (from non-drink to heavy-frequent) all had a part in the discussion of alcohol on campus. By implementing this multi-pronged approach, this enforced the notion of a fully capable initiative to the university administration, where decision-makers could see the benefits for all individuals on campus.

5.4.5 Membership Passion

The fifth key element contributing to the success of the initiative was the passion that the BDPI members held for the initiative. They believed that the BDPI was important for the safety of the students and the campus environment and by pushing for administrative endorsement at the college and university level, they could make a difference both in the short and long term relating to student behaviour outcomes. The members implemented their drive to succeed into their work, from overseeing all aspects of the research project to making sure they continuously pushed to be heard by university administration through their email conversations and face-to-

face meetings. Without the dedication of the BDPI members, much of the initiative's original ground work would not have been accomplished, with the probability that the initiative would not have made it past the first year. In order for the students to be heard, they had their social and economic capital in the form of the supervisors and advisory committee, but they needed to work to gain cultural capital. Due to their passion for the campaign, they worked to gain endorsement from the administration in whatever capacity, without sacrificing their overall goal to have a student-led, multi-pronged binge drinking prevention initiative. This included having to learn administrative cultural practices.

It is important to address that each BDPI member came into the initiative with a different set of beliefs and understandings around alcohol and binge drinking, brought on by past and present experiences shaping their perceptions, which Bourdieu identifies as the habitus. These different belief systems would influence how they saw the initiative's overall influence on campus. As the initiative took shape and discussions were had with different individuals and groups on campus, the BDPI members began to intertwine their belief systems and understanding to create a unified initiative habitus, much like an organizational habitus. Each individual habitus was able to partake in the larger initiative habitus, influencing discussions and decisions. As the members worked to combine their habitus into one, there was also the need for them to understand their place within the field of the U of S campus and how they would need to alter their behaviours to be seen as legitimate to administration.

As undergraduate students, the BDPI members did not have a lot of experience in working with decision makers in the positions of Dean and/or Associate Dean. When they first came to meetings, they had to learn the unwritten practices of administration within specific fields and subfields, and take into account which Deans from what colleges they were meeting

and what their practices were (i.e. a Dean from Agriculture and Bio-resources would have different practices than a Dean from Edwards School of Business). This took time for the students to understand and learn, but with each meeting, they altered their appearances, the way they spoke to administrative members, and how they pitched their initiative. They began researching prior to their meeting to understand the needs of the college and alter their presentations in order to meet those needs. This included wearing the appropriate attire to meetings dependent on who the individuals were, and understanding what the goals of the administrative group was in order to pitch the BDPI within that context.

As the BDPI members attended more meetings with the different college administrators, they were able to tighten up the script used for the different colleges and mould their appearances to fit the environment they were walking into in order to legitimize themselves to the Dean and other administrative individuals in the college. As they applied administrative culture into their practices, they found that they did not always successfully implement their strategies, with the end result being failure. Though at first deterring, the failures that the members endured would become learning experiences that they could take in to the next meeting in order to do a better job at gaining endorsement.

5.4.6 Understanding Failure and Working Through It

With all of the success and positive key elements that were coming together for the BDPI members, there were also roadblocks leading to failures in gaining endorsement and being seen as legitimate to administrative individuals. An example of what the BDPI members in that first year deemed as a failure was the lack of endorsement received from College 1. Discussions started with the Dean of College 1 in July 2011 when the BDPI members sent out the original request to meet with the Dean to discuss college endorsement. As earlier identified in theme one

of the email conversations, the Dean was positive, acknowledging that the initiative would be best supported by certain individuals. The BDPI members met with the individuals, and gained College 1 endorsement August 16th, 2011.

As the initiative moved forward to gain other college endorsements, College 1 came back to identify that the two individuals who gave endorsement on August 16th, 2011 held no authority to do so at a college level. Instead, it was identified that the endorsement request had to go through a set of college processes not originally identified by College 1 Dean or any other administrative individuals. To rectify this issue, the BDPI members and the initiative supervisor coming from College 1, immediately began asking what the processes were and how they could be met in order to receive official College 1 endorsement. Agreements were made that the initiative would be placed on to the Dean Meeting 1 agenda, where all departments and schools under College 1 met to discuss larger college issues, which included initiatives such as the BDPI. With the next meeting being held after Thanksgiving 2011, the BDPI members waited for confirmation of endorsement.

At the end of October, one of the BDPI member's inquired into the results of the meeting. The reply was that meeting time had run out and there was no time to discuss the initiative, and it had been moved to the next meeting. For a second time the BDPI members waited to hear word of endorsement from the college and again they were made to contact the same individual asking of the outcome. This time a response was not had until early December 2011, where the individual working with BDPI members identified personal health issues and that they could no longer help the members in working to gain endorsement. Instead, the administrative individual directed the members back to the College 1 Dean, who identified that the BDPI should present at the Faculty Council in order to receive endorsement from College 1. The Chair and Secretary of

the Faculty Council were identified by the Dean and that the BDPI members should make contact with them to be put on the agenda. The Dean also suggested the BDPI members contact the College 1 Student Association 3 to see if the student association would also endorse the initiative, strengthening the request to the Faculty Council.

The BDPI members worked to set up a meeting between themselves and the Student Association 3 President, but it would never occur, as the Student Association 3 President continued to change and cancel meetings. Finally, the individual identified that they were too busy to take on this responsibility and could not meet face-to-face with the BDPI members. The President did try to help through email correspondence by helping draft the documents needed for the Faculty Council. The documents were created and ready to go, but the initiative was still not placed on the Faculty Council agenda. As this was stalled, there was still no ground being made at the college level to gain endorsement through the Dean's meeting. The BDPI supervisor who is a member of College 1 proceeded to step in to support the BDPI members, and took over correspondence with the administrators. Much like the BDPI student members, he had little success in gaining any traction with College 1 administration. The final roadblock that the BDPI faced with College 1 that was ultimately fatal in the initiative gaining endorsement, was that the college faced internal crisis with all college administration having to focus on dealing with the internal issue, placing all other college issues on hold.

At first, the BDPI members saw the lack of College 1 endorsement as a failure on their part. After many years and time for reflection, it is much more complicated than it being the fault of one individual or group. The BDPI had the right elements in the form of social, cultural, and economic capital, along with the combined habitus and understanding of the importance of legitimacy to gain full endorsement from College 1. The problem was that even with all of the

right tools, they were unable to foresee internal college struggle between the organizational habitus and the policies and procedures needed for the college to uphold their legitimacy. Many different factors played a part in the crumbling of the BDPI gaining endorsement from the college, including the individual players who did not have a strong understanding or passion for the initiative, the bureaucratic processes not made apparent in the original discussions of endorsement, and the significant internal college issues that had to be addressed by their members before moving on to other, external issues. All of these factors stalled, and eventually ended, communication between the BDPI members and college administration. This problem is something that initiatives, including the BDPI, need to understand as a reality that in no way is the primary fault of any individual involved, but instead is a series of events and misaligned goals stalling the forward momentum of important initiatives. The next section identifies the unknown hierarchies and the need to fill the gaps in order to move forward with initiative endorsement.

5.5 Objective 2: Unknown Pathways - Filling in the Hierarchical Gaps

As the BDPI members manoeuvred through the university, it became clear that the hierarchical map they were working with was missing important pathways and individuals. For example, a key individual missing from the university hierarchy map was the AVP in the Administrative Office 2, who the BDPI members met through Administrative Office 1, when the contacted individual shifted responsibility to the AVP. It took time to set up meetings with AVP, but this introduction was the beginning of important discussions with Administrative Office 2. Once contact was made with the AVP, they shifted the conversation to the Health Education Coordinator in Student Health. This unintentional snowballing effect of meeting with individuals on campus would be crucial for the BDPI to create long-lasting and collaborative relationships

with established university offices in order to imbed itself in the campus. During the time that this was all occurring, the BDPI members found the situations frustrating and unnecessary as they worked towards endorsement by upper university offices and decision makers.

Figure 5.3 identifies the missing hierarchical relationships not identified in the university's original structural map (Figure 5.1, p. 78). As the year progressed, the BDPI members filled in the gaps and missing pieces of the university structure, inputting positions, groups, and people that they overlooked or were not aware of, to come up with a more comprehensive map reflecting both the workings of the university and the needs of the BDPI. The map addressed that though the university structure is in the form of a hierarchy, it does not always work that way. This map also reflects Bourdieu's concept of different fields and subfields found in the social world

The U of S campus was the main field that the BDPI members worked in with little of their work going outside of campus boundaries. In the larger field of the university are the many subfields, which are found in the form of colleges, schools and administrative offices. Each of these subfields had their own set of policy and procedures that may or may not loosely reflect the policies and procedures of the larger university campus. As the members gained endorsement from colleges and administrative offices, other colleges and schools saw the initiative gain legitimacy from the support they were receiving on campus, and came on board. This shows the different power fields and how the decision making of colleges can influence one another. It was on the field of the university where one could begin to understand the power structures and the field or subfield in which it was situated.

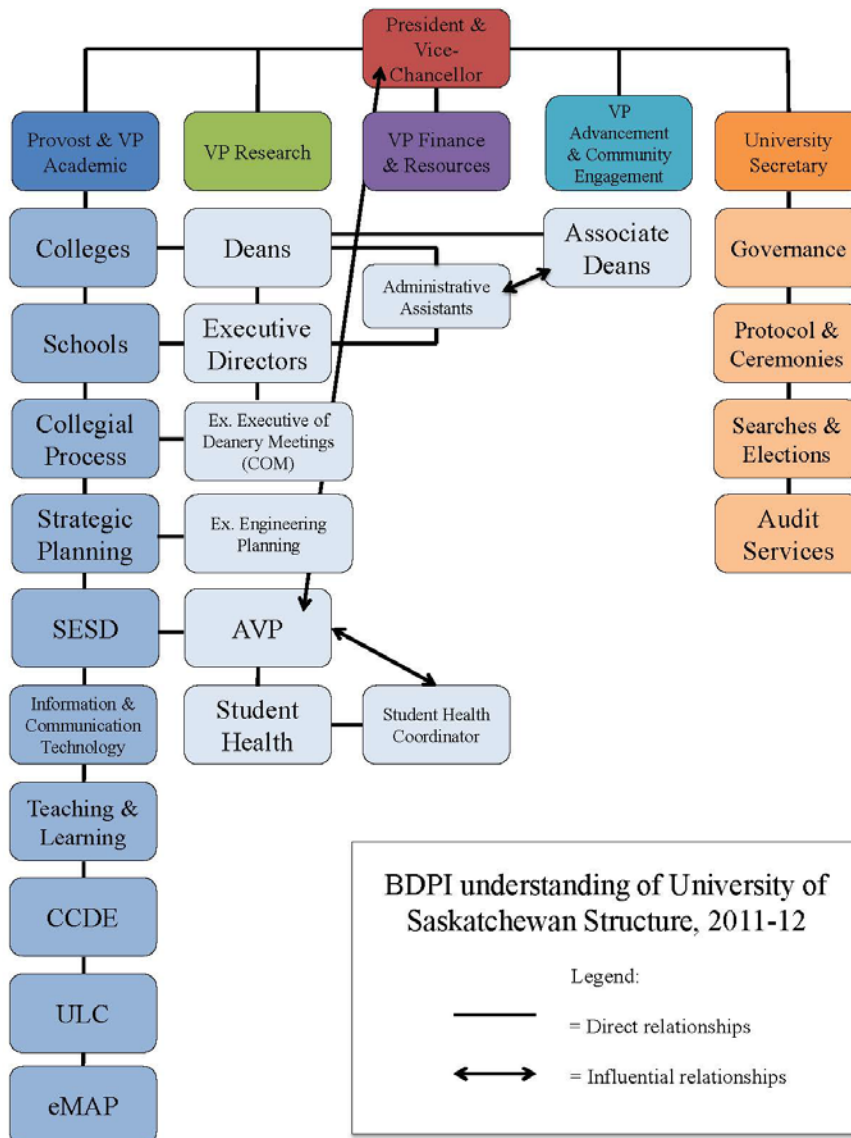
It also became clear that the BDPI members needed to prove their legitimacy to the top individuals identified on the hierarchical map, as DiMaggio and Powell identified the importance of legitimacy for outside forces to have when working with others. Some decision-makers would allow for that to happen in face-to-face meetings, but others had the members start lower down in the hierarchical structure, having to gain the trust of those individuals before meeting with higher positions. As the BDPI members worked to fill in the gaps, it became clear that they needed to prove their legitimacy to the upper individuals before being able to set up a meeting.

The strongest example of the BDPI members needing to gain trust and show their legitimacy comes from the attempted conversation with Administrative Office 1 and the actions that followed. When the BDPI members originally emailed Administrative Office 1, the individual identified the importance of the initiative but immediately directed them downwards in the hierarchy to meet with the AVP. The AVP did much of the same and directed the BDPI members to the Health Education Coordinator. It was the Health Education Coordinator that would have enough power to identify to the AVP the legitimacy of the BDPI members and their initiative in order to influence them to have a meeting. Gaining the trust of the Health Education Coordinator not only gave the initiative legitimacy, but became a form of Bourdieu's social capital for the initiative in moving forward to gain endorsement from other colleges and administration, including the AVP. It was here that the BDPI members began to understand that in order for upper administration to meet with them, they needed to work and partner with the lower offices.

Identified earlier in this chapter, another form of social capital that the BDPI members had and learnt to use as a leveraging mechanism was their supervisors and the positions they held on campus. By identifying their positions and expertise in the field, they were able to acquire meetings to request college endorsement. This social capital gave the BDPI members credibility

and legitimacy to the administrative individuals they were working with to build relationships and gain endorsement. As relationships were created with previously unidentified individuals and university positions in the hierarchy (i.e. the Health Education Coordinator), that also

Figure 5.3: Identifying the Unknown Pathways of the University of Saskatchewan



became a form of social capital the BDPI members could use. For the AVP to entertain a meeting with the BDPI, members had to meet with the Health Education Coordinator of Student Health and pitch the initiative to them to gain a meeting with the AVP. The meeting and creation

of the relationship created with the Health Education Coordinator, is considered successful as two days after the meeting between that individual and the BDPI, the AVP emailed the members looking to set up a meeting to discuss the initiative.

Relationships with the supervisors and key administrative individuals are an example of Bourdieu's symbolic capital. Having support from the Health Education Coordinator was a key factor to gaining endorsement from the AVP and Administrative Office 2. Another factor that helped in gaining Administrative Office 2 and college endorsements were the BDPI supervisors due to their positions on campus and expertise in the field around binge drinking. These were some of the tools that the BDPI members held that were able to help them in gaining legitimacy and endorsement on the U of S campus.

5.6 Objective 3: Having the Proper Tools

Many of the tools needed for the initiative to succeed in its first year were identified in the previous sections. The encouragement and positioning of faculty members, an advisory committee with experts in the field of binge drinking, and the accumulated support from different individuals on and off campus are all tools that the BDPI members needed to succeed. Much of this could be duplicated at other universities to create an initiative such as the BDPI. With the focus of the corporate university, groups may see it as difficult to persuade individuals and administrative offices to support the initiative, especially when it comes to economic requests, but initiatives can be tweaked to support the goals of the university administration alongside that of their own.

Corporate universities look to acquire faculty that can bring in large research projects and Research Chair positions. The faculty and research individuals brought in will be focusing on an

array of projects with the need to mentor undergraduate and graduate students. This is a positive side effect of the Corporate University, as it requires the high-level researchers to support the campus and the individuals in it. At the same time, students would be receiving the tools needed for the initiative, and to help navigate through the university structure. The Provincial Research Chair in Substance Abuse is a strong example of all of these elements coming together. A faculty member and researcher focusing on a health issue was able to mentor and support students in creating a prevention initiative on campus, giving them training not only in research, but in negotiating and administrative skills as well to implement their initiative on the campus.

When the BDPI first started out, they had very little when it came to forms of capital. They did have enough to show that the initiative was something of value due to the support they had from their supervisors as faculty members, and their advisory committee. Both supervisors are experts in their field and fully supported the initiative. As faculty members, they identified their long-term commitment to the initiative and supported the students working on it. The advisory committee consisted of individuals in provincial and national organizations, from government ministries to national organizations focusing specifically on alcohol and addictions. These individuals are experts in their field, and were another form of social capital for the BDPI members to use as leverage with the Deans, VDs, and other administrative individuals who may have had doubts related to the legitimacy of the initiative.

For the members and supervisors of the BDPI initiative, it was in a sense a perfect storm, that all the right pieces fell in to place for the members to move forward fairly smoothly. This may not always be so smoothly accomplished for individuals at other campuses. There are factors that would take time, with one key factor being the passion of individual students. It may be that there are students on a campus who are concerned about their student body and their

drinking levels but it may also take time to build that enthusiasm. If administration were to catch on to the idea prior to the student body, they may have to brainstorm alternate ways to start a student initiative without assigning anyone to do so. A way to do this could be through the hiring of a faculty member who focuses on addictions, or other health related issues, much like Dr. Dell. That way there can be movement in the right direction to get students excited to work on initiatives such as BDPI without direct orders coming from administrative offices. This could also bring in some of the necessary tools for the initiative. If administration were to help to hire a faculty member who can support students working through the university structure, that would put in place crucial relationships for a future initiative.

5.7 Summary of Findings

The data identifies that the BDPI was able to work with/in the U of S bureaucratic structure by mapping out and understanding the fields in which they had to manoeuvre. As they entered and exited each college or administrative office, they were able to successfully gain endorsement by understanding both the needs of the initiative and the administrative individuals. The BDPI members identified the tools they had, sharing them in their meetings with administrative individuals to show legitimacy that this initiative had potential to thrive and succeed on the U of S campus. They were able to show that through their research, the initiative, and in turn the university, could be a leader for other campuses as the BDPI members worked to incorporate the initiative focusing on needs of the students and the university administration. The BDPI members identified a gap when it came to student health to the university administration that needed serious attention, and gave them an option in the form of the initiative that worked to support the campus at different levels and the campus as a whole.

The BDPI fills the gap for a needed prevention initiative on campus in a number of ways. Firstly, it works at a peer-to-peer level. Students working for the initiative interact with other students and are able to understand the environmental pressures for socializing that surround them on and off campus. Students are able to share their experiences and the methods they use to cope, or avoid, the consequences that occur when participating in binge drinking activities. Secondly, the BDPI members share information that students can easily remember and use, as they are able to create common scenarios and give examples on how students can use the information. Because the members are proactively out on the campus and doing what they can to create an informed student population, it helps the university legitimize itself to the public that they are supporting their students in all realms of their studies, including their physical and mental health, and not purely focusing on administrative goals to support a corporate university.

The BDPI strongly exemplifies how initiatives run by individuals who have little experience with working in complex, bureaucratic structures, can still be successful. Coming back to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, the members were able to identify what the field was (i.e. the university), along with the subfields (i.e. colleges and schools), and adapt to the organizational and individual habitus of those they were meeting with (i.e. Deans, administrative groups), using different forms of capital in order to receive endorsement. As the field continues to standardize into a more corporate style structure, the habitus plays a crucial role. The BDPI members were able to understand the habitus of individual administrators and groups as they did their research on each individual to know what their backgrounds were and the positions they had possibly held previously on the U of S campus. The connections that administrators had to the university would have an influence on how they saw the initiative supporting the campus.

When the initiative began to establish itself on the campus, the U of S was at the starting point of a full restructuring. The restructuring of an organization can make it difficult for any initiative to find its place within the structure, as was the case for the BDPI, specifically with College 1. As universities continue towards a corporate structure, there will be ongoing conflicts between the individual and organizational habitus and the field, meaning initiatives will have to be flexible and patient. The fields and subfields have to work with changing policies that do not always line up with the internal structures, causing confusion, misunderstandings and in some cases reversals of decisions. College 1 had procedures in place for gaining endorsement, but were not identified or followed when discussions first began between the BDPI members and the college, even at the level of the Dean. All discussions with College 1 were halted as the college was jolted into an emergency restructuring, removing any unrelated items off of their radar.

Though these changes barred the BDPI members from gaining endorsement from College 1, the changes also presented opportunities. The BDPI members were able to work in positions in the different fields and subfields, that normally they would not be privy to, as colleges and the university invited them in to discussions traditionally closed to students (i.e. the revamping of the University Alcohol Policy). As an original member with the BDPI, I had a first-hand view of how the initiative worked in the structure of the university, and was able to manoeuvre its way through the different hierarchies. With the use of Smith's IE, I was able to better understand my standpoint within the initiative and in the larger picture of the field, giving me a jumping off point to pull out the underlying themes of the emails and key informant interviews, while keeping in mind that I will not fully understand the decision making of each individual the initiative encountered.

With the different decisions made by the university and college administrators, unknown pathways became accessible to the BDPI members, leading to important partnerships for the initiative. Had Administrative Office 1 not sent the email forwarding the members to the AVP in Administrative Office 2, that important partnership may never have been created. The partnership between the AVP and the BDPI members was key for future activities, as it led to establishing the initiative on campus both socially and economically. Administrative Office 2 was able to help the Provincial Research Chair in supporting two paid positions to sustain the initiative. Working with the AVP, the BDPI members were also able to establish a partnership with Student Health, imbedding the initiative into a currently well-established, long-term student service. These relationships, along with the endorsement, and imbedding of the initiative onto the campus made the first year of the initiative an overall success.

5.8 Conclusion

A success for the initiative is an action or a specific goal that was accomplished during that first year, which worked towards imbedding the initiative on the U of S campus. The first year of the BDPI had many successful moments as it worked to establish itself as a key initiative for the university campus. The overall first reaction from administration was positive, with many discussions having an impact on the continued research, BDPI member employment, and economic support from university administrative offices. Key relationships were established in the first year, which would be crucial for the continuation and establishment of the initiative in the structure of the university. The downfalls, or failures, of the initiative were also good for the members, as it identified where messaging needed to be tightened, and that work needed to be done around the targeting of populations. The BDPI members identified and understood the need to further legitimize themselves in the structure of the university through the creation of a logic

model, including a mission, vision, initiative objectives, and yearly goals that would adjust each year to meet the needs of the campus. This logic model would also instil the confidence of college endorsement and legitimize the initiative. The passion of the members, along with their flexibility and determination to understand how the university structure worked and where the initiative could fit helped for the overall success of the BDPI.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Binge drinking is a major concern for North American campuses, as drinking rates stay constant and student participation of risky-drinking continues to rise. As this health concern grows in the student population, North American universities are seeing a shift towards the Corporate University, where the agenda is focused on implementing business models that involve growing research dollars and recruiting corporate sponsorship, with less attention put towards the health and well-being of the campus community. As the Corporate University continues to grow, and the student drinking rates stay constant, there is an identifiable gap of information for students, faculty, staff and university administration to help lower drinking levels. In order for campuses to work towards creating a safe and educated population, initiatives need to be implemented that are innovative and new, working outside of the more traditional top-down approach. The University of Saskatchewan Student Binge Drinking Prevention Initiative is a strong example of a current, student-led, multi-pronged initiative.

This final chapter identifies the strengths and limitations of the thesis, which included identifying how the thesis filled the gap in understanding how the BDPI gained support from the administrations of the U of S, the successful implementation of the conceptual framework, and the need for similar initiatives to apply to other campuses in order to prove that this form of initiative could indeed work elsewhere. The chapter then moves into future directions for research, looking at furthering the conceptual framework and researching the limitations, by implementing initiatives elsewhere in order to document their success and failures. The chapter concludes with recommendations to the university allowing for student voices to be continually realised in the university structure through policy and procedure adjustments.

6.1 Strengths & Limitations

A strength of this thesis is that it filled a gap in understanding how prevention initiatives can successfully work within the Corporate University's bureaucratic structures. By focusing on the BDPI and the U of S campus, this example shares that in order to be taken legitimately by administrative individuals, the initiative needs to have a strong foundation. The BDPI members were able to provide evidence to the Deans and university administration of a strong foundation through a multitude of factors, from the support of the initiative's supervisors and advisory committee, to a need analysis through the creation of a proposal, four-year plan, and research design. These actions done by the BDPI members worked to align the initiative with the business model goals of the U of S. As the initiative gained endorsements from the individual colleges and university administration, they were able to legitimize themselves on the campus. Without this legitimacy, it is highly doubtful the initiative would have lasted past the first year.

The thesis implemented the combined conceptual framework of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism. In using these two theories, one strengthened the other to explain the relationships between the different players in the field. The theories were able to give an understanding of how organizational structures, through policies and procedures, have an influence on the organizational and individual habitus found in the fields. This influence can change the actions of the decision makers, even if their individual habitus is not in line with the actions they must complete. Even with the organizational influences, there is still room for decisions to change based on the ownership of economic, social, and culture capital, which has the power to sway individuals. Overall, the theories gave a deeper understanding of the decision making done in organizations and the outside influences that had power to alter and change these decisions.

A limitation of the thesis was its focus on only one initiative on one campus. As this was a singular event, there is nothing to compare and test that the theoretical framework and tools of habitus, field, and capital could work for and on other university campuses. Based on the success of the initiative, it can be assumed that there would be a high probability of success for other initiatives⁵, but until this is tested elsewhere, the possibility of a successful implementation of the conceptual framework and tools are limited. With the possibility of other initiatives being implemented on university campuses with similar structures, it could give insight into where initiatives may fall short or if there are similar experiences related to their successes and failures. By being able to compare different initiatives using similar methods as the BDPI, it can be proven (or disproven) that initiatives could have higher success rates in corporatized universities.

Another strength of the study is based on my personal experiences with the initiative and working to implement it onto the university campus. With this central viewpoint and insight to the workings of the initiative, I was able to access the initiatives documents, emails, and research data. Due to my experience with the initiative, I was also able to recall on my personal memories of what occurred during that first year in the meetings with Deans and university administration. Working with the conceptual framework of my thesis and Dorothy Smith's IE, these concepts were able to reveal to me the power struggles between the different players, including myself with administrative members on campus. The concepts exposed the different layers of decision making on the university campus, and that sometimes individuals need more than a great idea and passionate individuals to move that idea forward. A downfall to being central to the initiative is that as time has gone on, the memories of the activities that occurred in the first year are not always complete, with small details difficult to recall and emotional experiences at time jading

⁵ The initiatives would not need to be alcohol specific for a comparison to occur, but there would need to be an element of health and/or prevention in order to apply the same framework.

the facts of what happened. Even with this weakness, being central to the initiative gave me the standpoint to identify the strengths and limitations of the initiative and to identify the future directions it holds.

6.2 Future Directions

In order to move this research forward, there are future directions that could be taken. One direction that the research could go is to identify other prevention initiatives focusing on binge drinking or other health related issues that affect the majority of university students. By identifying these initiatives, it would help to compare and see if they have similar successes and limitations as the BDPI did when working in bureaucratic structures. With these cases to compare to, one can identify create a comprehensive understanding of how the initiatives can thrive in different bureaucratic environments.

Another direction in which this research could go is to continue developing the conceptual framework combining Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and DiMaggio and Powell's New Institutionalism and applying it to other initiatives working in bureaucratic structures. By reapplying this conceptual framework to similar initiatives like the BDPI, it can be tested to see if the concepts work to help individuals understand the organizational influences and how different forms of capital and legitimacy can alter and strengthen them. In strengthening the conceptual framework, initiatives can confidently apply it knowing it will better prepare them when asking for support and endorsement from college and university administration. Moving forward from the present and future directions of this thesis, there are recommendations to be made on what can be done in the short term related to the BDPI and the U of S.

6.3 Recommendations

Binge drinking is deeply rooted in campus culture, therefore its consequences will not be diminishing from the field anytime soon. University administration, faculty, staff, and students need to be proactive in working to create an environment that is supportive in educating and identifying that there are safe alternatives when consuming alcohol. With an initiative such as the BDPI that works to educate and give information to students related to their drinking behaviours, administration needs to continue to support the initiative both institutionally and economically. To date, the university has done a reasonable job, but the initiative continues to be economically unstable as budgets are cut and project funding ends. With the BDPI having a low budget and overall running cost, the initiative is a fiscally responsible way of dealing with the issue of binge drinking rather than cutting the initiative and increasing the possibility of a tragic accident occurring on campus.

As this was an initiative created on a Canadian campus, it has potential to be easily implemented on other university campus. With the BDPI created How-To Guide, students, faculty and staff at other campuses can take the steps they need to create an initiative to lower and ultimately eliminate binge drinking. From the findings of the research in this thesis and by the BDPI members, other university administrative offices can take note of how they can support individuals starting an initiative through different levels of endorsement from verbal support to economic funding. Administrative offices can also work to identify bureaucratic procedures that may be in place that could hinder the implementation of an initiative similar to the BDPI.

The BDPI would not have been possible without the creation of a class assignment and the support of a faculty member who held a Provincial Research Chair position. As Research Chair positions, both provincially and nationally, become more common, it is important to

identify how these positions can help in creating an environment for students to receive hands on learning experience with research and community engagement. Universities that have Research Chairs established on their campuses relating to social and health issues could work to create opportunities for the creation of initiatives such as the BDPI. These initiatives not only create opportunities for undergraduate students that are not normally accessible to them but it would also support the university community in creating initiatives that can further positive experiences. When creating these opportunities, students, faculty, and the administrative body can benefit from the positive outcomes.

By allowing a student voice into the workings of the bureaucratic structures of the university, there can be insight gained into how policy and procedures are interpreted, and misinterpreted, by individuals on and off campus. Having to work with an incomplete structural map of the university hierarchy, the BDPI members were able to identify how difficult it can be for those outside the administrative body to understand it. Had it not been for the direction of a couple of individuals, key relationships may not have been formed. The need for student involvement also goes for policy creation, in that a strong policy implements voices and insight from all parts of the community in which it will be enforced. By giving students a chance to review it and identify what is reasonable or not, it may help to implement the policy, with less push back from the campus community, as it will reflect the current trends in the community.

With the highs and lows that the BDPI experienced in its first year, the members were able to navigate their way through the field and work with the different members on campus to successfully implement the initiative. Since 2011, the initiative has been able to rebrand itself *What's Your Cap?* (WYC), where they have created meaningful swag and educational materials to share with the university community. The WYC members have also been invited across the

country to discuss the initiative at different conferences and university events focusing on the binge drinking culture on university campuses. From the findings of the initiative came a provincial government report⁶, two academic articles⁷, and comprehensive and informative How-To Guide that other post-secondary institutions can use to implement a similar initiative on their campus. The logic model is updated yearly, along with a one-page evaluation survey, which looks to measure the long-term effects of the initiative and to make sure that the proper message is getting out there to students.⁸ As the university structure continues to change, the initiative will need to adjust, but by using the tools it has and maintaining existing partnerships, while continuously updating their work and initiative activities to fit the needs of the campus, it should be able to continue to thrive and support students as they work through their time at the university.

⁶ J. Robinson, Y. Tanaka, D Robertson-Boersma, C. Dell, P. Butt (2012). 'Marketing' the Low Risk Alcohol Drinking Guidelines on the University of Saskatchewan Campus. Saskatchewan: Ministry of Health. Internal Report.

⁷ Bartlett, E., Robertson-Boersma, D., Dell, C.A., & Mykota, D. (March, 2015). What's Your Cap?: The highlights and lowlights of developing an empirical and theory-driven binge drinking prevention initiative on a Canadian campus. *University of Saskatchewan Undergraduate Research Journal* 1(2) and Robertson-Boersma, D., Dell, C. & Butt, P. (September, 2015). Reflections on how a university binge drinking prevention initiative supports alcohol screening, brief intervention, and referral for student alcohol use. *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 88(3): 339–346.

⁸ Much of the work done by WYC, some of which is listed here, can be found on their website at www.whatsurcap.ca

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